IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA NORFOLK DIVISION

Latasha Holloway, et al.,	
Plaintiffs,	Civil Action No. 2:18-cv-0069
v. City of Virginia Beach, et al.,	
Defendants	

PLAINTIFFS' BRIEF IN OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT

PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 7

Deposition Transcript of Virginia Beach City Council Member John Moss



Transcript of John D. Moss

Date: September 13, 2019

Case: Holloway, et al. -v- City of Virginia Beach, et al.

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           IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
           FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
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                    NORFOLK DIVISION
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    LATASHA HOLLOWAY and
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    GEORGIA ALLEN,
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                    Plaintiffs, : CASE NO.
8
                                : 2:18cv00069
    V.
9
    CITY OF VIRGINIA BEACH, et al., :
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                    Defendants. :
    -----x
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14
              Deposition of JOHN D. MOSS
15
               Virginia Beach, Virginia
16
               Friday, September 13, 2019
17
                      9:10 a.m.
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20
    Job No. 261326
21
    Pages 1 - 215
22
    Reported by: Penny C. Wile, RPR, RMR, CRR
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2 Deposition of JOHN D. MOSS, held at the 1 offices of: 2 3 4 5 VIRGINIA BEACH CITY ATTORNEY 6 2401 Courthouse Drive Municipal Center, Building One 7 8 Room 260 9 Virginia Beach, VA 23456 10 (757)385-435111 12 13 14 15 16 Pursuant to Notice, before Penny C. Wile, 17 18 RPR, RMR, CRR, Notary Public of the Commonwealth 19 of Virginia. 20 21 22

1	APPEARANCES
2	ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS, LATASHA HOLLOWAY
3	AND GEORGIA ALLEN:
4	ERIN CHLOPAK, ESQUIRE
5	CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER
6	1101 14th Street NW
7	Suite 400
8	Washington, DC 20005
9	(202)736-2200
10	and
11	ANNABELLE E. HARLESS, ESQUIRE
12	CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER
13	73 W. Monroe Street
14	Suite 302
15	Chicago, IL 60603
16	(312)561-5508
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	

APPEARANCES ON BEHALF OF THE DEFENDANTS, CITY OF VIRGINIA BEACH, ET AL.: CHRISTOPHER S. BOYNTON, ESQUIRE OFFICE OF THE VIRGINIA BEACH CITY ATTORNEY 2401 Courthouse Drive Municipal Center, Building One Room 260 Virginia Beach, VA 23456 (757)385-4351

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 Whereupon, 3 JOHN D. MOSS, after having been first duly sworn, was examined 4 5 and did testify under oath as follows: 6 7 MS. HARLESS: So we'll state our 8 appearances for the record. 9 I'm Annabelle Harless, and I represent the 10 plaintiffs in this case. And I work with the 11 Campaign Legal Center in Chicago. 12 MS. CHLOPAK: Erin Chlopak. And I also 13 work for the plaintiffs in this case. And I work 14 at the Campaign Legal Center in Washington, D.C. 15 MR. BOYNTON: I'm Chris Boynton. I'm with 16 the Virginia Beach City Attorney's Office. And I 17 represent the defendants in the case. 18 THE DEPONENT: And I'm John Moss, City 19 Council Member At-Large for the City of Virginia 20 Beach, Virginia. 21 22

1	EXAMINATION BY COUNSEL FOR THE PLAINTIFFS:
2	BY MS. HARLESS:
3	Q. Nice to meet you, Mr. Moss. As I said, my
4	name is Annabelle Harless. And I'm going to be
5	asking you some questions today.
6	Before I do, have you ever been deposed
7	before?
8	A. Yes.
9	Q. You have?
10	A. Correct.
11	Q. So you know the basic ground rules of a
12	deposition?
13	A. Well, you can repeat them to refresh my
14	memory.
15	Q. I'll go over a couple.
16	The court reporter is writing down
17	everything that we say. So that she's able to get
18	everything on the record, please wait for me to
19	finish asking my question before you start
20	answering, and I will do the same for you, so we
21	don't interrupt each other and so we can get a
22	clear record.

1	The court reporter can only record verbal
2	responses, so it's important that you answer with
3	a yes or a no or an audible answer rather than
4	nodding your head.
5	And we can take a break at any time but
6	not while a question is pending.
7	Does that make sense?
8	A. Correct. It does.
9	Q. Okay. Could you please state your full
10	name for the record?
11	A. John Darrell that's D-A-R-R-E-L-L
12	Moss, M-O-S-S.
13	Q. And, for the record, what is your race?
14	A. Caucasian.
15	Q. Do you understand you're under oath today?
16	A. I do.
17	Q. Is there any reason why you cannot give
18	truthful answers to my questions today?
19	A. No.
20	MR. BOYNTON: And before we get too deep
21	into the deposition, there's been some discussion
22	about the scope and the invocation of legislative

1	privilege with respect to Council members.
2	Just to get it on the record, Mr. Moss, do
3	you wish to invoke your right to legislative
4	privilege to the extent it applies to the
5	questions here today?
6	THE DEPONENT: I do.
7	MS. HARLESS: It is our understanding that
8	that privilege has to be brought up at every
9	question that is asked.
10	MR. BOYNTON: And we will. But he's
11	invoking it as a general principle, just to make
12	clear that he has chosen to do that. And, then,
13	we will raise it as an objection as to questions
14	appropriate for that objection.
15	Q. You've mentioned you've been deposed
16	before, correct?
17	A. Correct.
18	Q. Were those in cases involving you
19	personally or the city?
20	A. The city only.
21	Q. Were any of those cases about
22	A. Correction. Way back when I was a minor I

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1 was deposed for a traffic accident, so... 2 Q. Okay. Personally? 3 A. Correct. 4 Q. What were the depositions for the city? 5 A. They were regarding the arena case. 6 were being sued by ESG for breach of contract. 7 was a state court matter. 8 O. What was the issue? Breach of contract? 9 A. Breach of contract. Correct. 10 Q. Have you ever been deposed in any other 11 cases? 12 A. None other than the two that I mentioned, 13 no. 14 Q. Okay. I'm not asking for the content of 15 any communications you've had with your attorneys 16 When did you first learn about this here. 17 lawsuit? A. When I received an email that --18 19 requesting that I would be being asked for dates 20 and that the city had received a notice for 21 deposition. I can't tell you the exact date, but 22 it's been in the last 30 days.

11

1 MR. BOYNTON: Okay. 2 O. So --3 A. I was aware there was a lawsuit. But in 4 terms of being asked for a deposition? 5 No. I'm asking when did you first O. No. 6 become aware that this lawsuit had been filed? 7 A. When we got an advance notice from the 8 City Attorney telling us. I can't recall. It was 9 a piece of memorandum or something that was 10 received. 11 O. I don't know want to know the contents of 12 the document. I just want to know the date. 13 A. I do not know the date. 14 Q. Was it 2018? 15 A. I couldn't tell you. It's in the last 60 16 days, maybe. I can't tell you when. I do not --17 I cannot definitively recall when I was first 18 notified that the lawsuit was being filed. 19 Q. Do you know when the lawsuit was 20 originally filed? 21 A. I do not. 22 Q. Okay. Besides meeting with your

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1 attorneys, did you do anything to prepare for this 2 deposition? 3 A. No, other than we were in executive 4 session, which it is legislative privilege. 5 have that information. But I have not personally 6 done any preparation, no. 7 Q. You didn't review any documents, besides 8 meeting with your attorneys? 9 A. Other than we got a memo in package Friday 10 that talked about all city litigation that was 11 going on. I did read that memo. I received it on 12 Friday in my packet. But that's, I quess, 13 attorney privilege, I assume. 14 MR. BOYNTON: They get letters from the 15 attorneys explaining various -- status of various 16 That's what he's referring to. It is pure cases. 17 attorney-client privilege. 18 Q. Did you discuss this deposition with 19 anyone? 20 A. Other than the City Attorney, no. 21 Q. Besides any communications with your 22 attorneys, did you have any communications with

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1 anyone else about this deposition? 2 A. No. 3 Q. Did you bring any documents with you to 4 this deposition today? 5 A. No. 6 Q. Is there any reason why you could not be 7 in Norfolk, Virginia during the week of January 8 14th, 2020? 9 A. I work for the Commander of Submarine 10 The operational demands of the Submarine 11 Force are not predictable; they're dependent upon 12 our adversaries, so I cannot give you a definitive 13 answer you would like. I would make my best 14 efforts. But my job is very unpredictable as the 15 adversaries are very unpredictable. 16 Q. You're not going to be out of the country? 17 A. Not to the best of my knowledge at this 18 time. 19 Q. You don't have a vacation planned for that 20 week? 21 A. Not at this time. 22 MS. HARLESS: I'm going to mark this as

1	Exhibit 1.
2	(Exhibit 1 was marked and
3	attached to the transcript.)
4	A. Can I have time to read the whole thing?
5	Q. Yep.
6	A. Thank you very much.
7	Okay. Thank you very much.
8	Q. So you were just taking a look at Exhibit
9	1. Have you seen this document before?
10	A. I haven't seen this part of the exhibit.
11	This is pages, I guess the cover page, the
12	second page proof of service, the Federal Civil
13	Procedures and effective things, Exhibit A. I
14	don't remember seeing this specific document, but
15	I do recall the things I was being asked to look
16	for in discovery in terms of things I was supposed
17	to search my records for. I can't recall if this
18	was the exact format I reviewed, but I do find the
19	things being asked for being familiar relative to
20	the request for discovery.
21	Q. Okay. So you've never seen the subpoena
22	or this exhibit, but you've been given the

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1 document production request? 2 A. I got a thing with my name on it. Ιt 3 didn't look exactly like this. The subpoena thing 4 I have -- I have it in my phone what I received. 5 But it had -- I was being -- giving a deposition. 6 But this particular document you're asking here, I 7 have not seen this particular page. I saw a 8 thing about giving a deposition. But I don't 9 recall seeing this specific page. I just don't 10 recall it. 11 Q. Okay. So if you turn --12 A. Not saying I didn't get it. I'm just not 13 recalling it. 14 Q. Let's turn to the very last page. 15 very last page says, "Councilmember John Moss 16 indicates he does not possess any responsive 17 documents." Do you see that? A. That's not what I said. 18 19 O. I understand. 20 A. What I said was all the documentation that

I had that was responsive could be found in the councilmail archived documents on vb.gov. But I

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1	did not physically possess any documentation.
2	That was my response.
3	Q. Okay. I'm not sure that was communicated
4	to us, but we'll discuss that in a second.
5	So I'd like you to just go to page 4 of
6	this document, which is titled Exhibit A.
7	A. Let me number them myself.
8	Q. At the top of this page it says Documents
9	to be produced by John Moss. Do you see that?
10	A. Uh-huh.
11	Q. So you said you haven't seen Exhibit A
12	before but you've seen these requests, correct?
13	A. Yes. The content. I just don't recall
14	this specific exhibit. But I do recall being
15	asked to search all my stuff and look through my
16	garage, look though all everything that I had
17	from campaign material.
18	I don't retain any city documents at my
19	home because they're always available from the
20	city. So when my Council meeting is over, the
21	trash can is the favorite place I go to. I do not

retain physical documents at my home.

1	Q. You don't retain any physical documents?
2	A. City business? No. There is no need to.
3	Q. What about non-city business?
4	A. Well, my personal stuff, yes.
5	Q. So this subpoena was sent to you in your
6	personal capacity. Do you understand that?
7	A. I understand that. But I'm asking my
8	personal finances, my checkbook, stuff for myself
9	personally, not within the scope of what you were
10	asking for?
11	I don't retain campaign stuff when the
12	campaign is over, except for financial documents
13	I'm required to retain for five years. When the
14	campaign is over, it's over. All the stuff I
15	have, because all campaigns change. I don't
16	retain anything, other than four-by-four signs.
17	But I don't retain documentation. It's not it
18	doesn't have any value.
19	Q. You don't retain any emails?
20	A. No. I'm not required to, and I don't on
21	purpose.
22	Q. Do you delete your emails?

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- A. I certainly do, on purpose.
- Q. Do you recall receiving anything of a litigation hold memorandum in this case?
- A. Yes, but not since my campaign was over.
- 5 My campaign ended before the -- before the notice
- 6 was received. Now, if you're asking me do I have
- 7 | all my Council emails, that answer would be in the
- 8 | affirmative. And that's why I made a comment it's
- 9 | either in vb.gov or I've sent copies when I
- 10 respond. Go into the councilmail@vb.com, I think
- 11 | it is, is the archive maintained by the City Clerk
- 12 of all the City Council member emails, and they
- 13 | are there.

- 14 Q. We'll get into that.
- 15 A. Okay.
- 16 Q. I just want to make sure that you've
- 17 | actually seen these document production requests,
- 18 | read them, and then looked for responsive
- 19 documents.
- 20 A. Correct.
- Q. So you have not seen this document, but
- 22 | you think you've seen all these production

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1 requests, correct? 2 A. Yes. 3 Q. Did you search for any and all documents 4 responsive to these requests that were in your 5 possession, custody, or control? 6 A. I did. 7 Q. How did you conduct your search for 8 responsive documents? 9 A. First of all, I went through and looked in 10 my garage, because that's where I keep boxes, just 11 to see if, by chance, there was anything other 12 than campaign banners, four-by-four signs, yard 13 signs, did I have any stuff left that was other 14 than that. I found some stickers, but that wasn't 15 responsive; just had my name on it. So that's the 16 first thing I did. 17 Secondly, I went back and looked in my 18 hard drive of my computer to look for stuff that 19 would have been campaign material. And that was 20 responsive to what you asked for, other than 21 things like my financial records which I have to 22 keep for five years. And I didn't find anything

1	that was responsive to these questions, and so I
2	responded back I was not in possession of
3	materials that were within the scope of the
4	discovery.
5	Q. What did you do to search your hard drive
6	for responsive materials?
7	A. Can you be more specific?
8	Q. What search terms did you use to look for
9	responsive documents on your computer?
10	A. I went to look to the actual folders
11	because that's what I have on my machine. I
12	looked at my campaign folders. And that's what I
13	went and looked for.
14	Q. Did you look at any documents besides your
15	campaign folders?
16	A. No. I had no reason to reasonably believe
17	that I would have put something other than that on
18	my hard drive. I mean, it's very I don't have
19	lots of stuff, but, no, I did not do a look for
20	this expression on everything in my hard drive,
21	no.
22	Q. So you manually looked through only a few

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folders on your hard drive, correct?

A. I manually looked through the applicable

folders. I wouldn't use the adjective few or many

4 or lots or little, but all that were appropriate.

- Q. And to be clear, the folders you looked through were campaign-related, correct?
- 7 A. Correct.

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- Q. Did you search your personal email account for any responsive documents?
- 10 A. I certainly did.
- 11 Q. How did you --
- 12 A. That's not easy to do, I might add.
- 13 Q. How did you conduct that search?
- 14 A. I used them by the names that were
- 15 provided. I looked for anything that said
- 16 election. I looked for anything that said voting,
- 17 campaign, disparity. I can't tell you all the
- 18 expressions that I used, but I did use a number of
- 19 expressions to look.
- Q. Can you remember any others that -- any of
- 21 | the search terms that you used to search through
- 22 | your email?

1 A. I did use things, you know, like -- I know 2 John Perry was empty. I ran with John Perry in 3 1986, so I knew that that wasn't going to be in 4 But I did go back and look through all the 5 emails that I did have, like 10,000, but I can't 6 tell you all the search terms, but I think they 7 were reasonable terms I used. 8 But for the bulk of the stuff that's city 9 business, it would all be in my vbgov account or 10 it would be in my Council archive account. And 11 I'm sure you probably were able -- and I know the 12 city searched those to give you the answers, so I 13 think you -- that should be fairly comprehensive. 14 Q. So right now I'm just asking for things 15 that are in your personal capacity, not city. 16 Campaign. That's why I looked for A. Oh. 17 the campaign terms, yes. To the extent that I --18 Q. Campaign or anything else. It's not 19 solely related to the campaign. 20 A. I automatically delete personal stuff 21 after so many months. I don't retain personal 22 email forever.

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Q. What -- how many months?

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- A. About six. And I just don't keep them after that. I mean, it's just -- I hope everybody else does that, too. There is no need to keep stuff on a personal basis. But notes to my wife, my kids, you know, that's personal.
- Q. So after six months your personal email account is set up to automatically delete?
 - A. Purge. Correct. Yes. I don't know whether they archive on the cloud. You know, I don't use cloud services, so...
 - Q. Are there any types of emails that are -that you have set the account up to not
 automatically purge after six months?
 - A. Not to my knowledge.
 - Q. Did you search your text messages for responsive information?
- A. I did. I don't keep very much in the way
 of text messages for very long. I can't tell you
 how far back that is, but I don't keep them very
 long.
 - Q. How did you search your text messages?

1	A. I look for names. You know, look for
2	names. And, then, you have to go back and scroll.
3	That's why I'm glad I don't keep many because it
4	takes a long time to open those up and go and
5	look.
6	But there was nothing that was in there
7	that I could see that dealt with voting systems,
8	anything within the scope of this, because that
9	hasn't been a topic on my hasn't been a topic
10	for me. And I don't have any texts on it. I just
11	look, I mean
12	Q. When you mentioned you don't keep your
13	texts very long, what did you mean by that?
14	A. I try to go through there often and just
15	delete, delete, delete, and just because
16	my phone, one, has limited storage. That
17	partially drives me there. I don't have a big
18	phone. But I just delete my messages just as a
19	matter of practice.
20	Q. What kind of cellphone do you have?
21	A. An iPhone.
22	Q. Who is your service provider?

1	A. T-Mobile. But it has been Verizon, as
2	well.
3	Q. How long has it been T-Mobile?
4	A. Gosh. I don't know. Maybe a year. Maybe
5	two.
6	Q. And before that, it was Verizon?
7	A. Uh-huh.
8	Q. How long do you think the service provider
9	was Verizon?
10	A. Gosh. I don't know. It's been a long
11	time. I just know it was at least, probably, four
12	years.
13	Q. All right.
14	A. But I don't remember exactly the exact
15	dates.
16	Q. Do you have a Google Drive or any kind of
17	file-sharing account?
18	A. No.
19	Q. Are you on social media?
20	A. Yes.
21	Q. Which social media accounts?
22	A. Facebook is the only social media account

1	that I use.
2	Q. You don't have a Twitter account?
3	A. No.
4	Q. Don't have an Instagram?
5	A. I had a Twitter account with my campaign,
6	but I have had no Twitter account since then; and
7	it hasn't been active in a long time.
8	Q. So there was a Twitter account for your
9	campaign?
10	A. Correct.
11	Q. In what year?
12	A. The one I just 2018.
13	Q. And you think that account is inactive?
14	A. I know it's inactive. I haven't used it.
15	Q. Did you search that account for
16	responsive documents?
17	A. I did. I only used it two or three times
18	in 2018. I know my campaign wanted me to use it;
19	I just didn't have the time.
20	Q. You said you have a Facebook account,
21	correct?
22	A. Two. I have a personal Facebook account,

1	and I have a Coucilman John D. Moss Facebook
2	account. And they are open access. I did not
3	search those accounts because they are open to the
4	public. And I haven't suspended them or deleted
5	them or otherwise manipulated them. You can go
6	back a long ways, since their inception. But I
7	did not search those accounts.
8	Q. Do you know what year you first joined
9	Facebook?
10	A. No, I do not.
11	Q. Do you have an idea?
12	A. I do not. Seems like forever, but I do
13	not have a date when that happened.
14	Q. Do you have any kind of recollection of
15	whether you joined it when it first became a thing
16	or
17	A. I do not have a recollection of when I
18	joined. I just don't. It's been a long time, but
19	I can't tell you when.
20	Q. Do you ever post about any of the items in
21	these document
22	A. I may have.

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1 Q. -- requests on social media? 2 A. I can't tell you if I did or did not. 3 just don't have that kind of historical cognition. 4 But it's all there. You can see it if I did. I'm 5 sure I have commented on it, but I can't tell you 6 that I have or I haven't in an affirmative way. 7 It's just a -- I comment on a lot of stuff, if 8 anyone looks. I just don't have a recollection. 9 But I did not search Facebook, either accounts, 10 so... 11 Q. Okay. And you don't have an Instagram 12 account? 13 A. I do not. 14 Q. Do you have a blog of any kind? 15 A. No. 16 O. A website? 17 A. I had a website for my campaign. been inactive since the election was over in 2018. 18 19 That's one of the reasons why I couldn't retrieve 20 any information from that website, because I no 21 longer paid to maintain it. 22 Q. So you tried to look on it for responsive

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material and you couldn't?

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- A. I didn't look because it's inactive and I didn't pay for it.
- Q. Okay. Any other accounts or anything else that you searched for responsive documents?
 - A. I have no other social media accounts.
 - Q. Any other kind of account?
- A. Can you be more specific?
 - Q. Besides what we've talked about today, is there any other location that you searched for responsive documents?
- 12 A. My personal dwelling.
- Q. Your garage, right, you mentioned?
- A. And my house, as well. I mean, my house
- 15 is part of my personal dwelling. But I
- 16 specifically looked in the garage because that's
- 17 where I have boxes with campaign stuff in them,
- 18 | but they were signs and stickers and things of
- 19 | that nature.
- Q. Okay. So let's go to the last page of
- 21 this document. And this is your -- this is the
- 22 response that was given to us. And in your

1	response to the subpoena you said, "Councilmember
2	John Moss indicates he does not possess any
3	responsive documents."
4	MR. BOYNTON: And I'm going to put on the
5	record here that this is in the context of my
6	office facilitating responses that Council members
7	are providing to you in an effort to just work
8	through a process where the City Attorney's Office
9	was unable to represent the Council members in
10	their individual or personal capacities.
11	So when we were and I will tell you
12	that my office generated that term based upon
13	information we received from the Council member as
14	to his personal information.
15	A. Correct.
16	MR. BOYNTON: We took the subpoena to mean
17	personal information. And that's what the
18	response indicates.
19	Q. Okay. So you had indicated earlier that
20	you thought maybe this wasn't this is not what
21	you had said?
22	A. Well, in that context, yes. In the

1	context because my response was that any
2	government in my Council capacity information
3	that I would have would either be in my vbgov.
4	account or in the councilmail archive account.
5	And that's where it would be.
6	I possessed and this deals with what do
7	I personally possess physically or, I guess you
8	could say, electronically myself. And that is the
9	answer that is correct.
10	Q. Did you personally withhold any documents
11	that were responsive to any of these production
12	requests
13	A. Not to the best of my knowledge.
14	Q for any reason?
15	Sitting here today, after we've gone
16	through this, can you think of any documents you
17	may have that are responsive to the production
18	requests that you did not produce to the
19	plaintiffs?
20	A. The only thing I think I could do is I
21	could do a comprehensive search of my hard drive
22	using more keywords and VF keywords you would want

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1 me to make sure that I used. I would be happy to 2 apply those to my hard drive and provide any 3 material that showed up. 4 Q. Okay. And you didn't search your Facebook 5 account? 6 A. I did not. 7 Q. But that account is public? 8 A. Both are public. And all comments are, 9 per the usual precedent, retained. I don't sensor 10 or otherwise edit what goes on there. 11 Q. Do you ever conduct city business via text 12 message? 13 A. I have, yes. 14 Q. And do you retain those text messages? 15 A. Two ways I do. One, where I -- I do retain some, which is why I have them in my phone. 16 17 And, secondly, when I think there is a 18 long dialogue of those, I will cut and paste them, 19 put them in an email, and send them to the 20 councilmail.com archive. Those are emails that I 21 don't -- text messages I don't delete. 22 And as of today, we've just established a

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1 new service which makes it easier for us to 2 actually automatically send them to an archive 3 text account. But that just started today, just 4 so you know. But, yes, I have conducted city 5 business by text. 6 Q. What kinds of things do you do over text 7 messages? 8 A. It could be I'm planning to put something 9 on the agenda. It could be I received -- I cut 10 and pasted a text from a constituent about an 11 issue and I send it to Nancy Bloom or the 12 appropriate department person to answer. It could 13 be a text I got from a Council member. It could 14 be about an appointment, which would be a 15 privileged communication. It could be about a 16 personnel matter, which would be a personnel 17 matter, and I often try to put that exemption, 18 assertion, on that text message so people know at 19 least I'm making that claim. Obviously, someone 20 else has to adjudicate that. That's a personnel 21 matter. 22 It could be anything. You know, it's a

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full -- in today's world, it's a -- it could be about agreeing to go speak someplace as a Council member. It's a lot. I would almost say it's the full spectrum of the city's business, I suspect, at any -- some point in time I have done a text message on, I would suspect.

Q. Have you ever sent a text message about changing to a single-member district system?

A. Not that I can recall. I did look for that. It's -- not that I can recall, but I may have.

Q. So I want to understand how these text messages are captured by the city. Is every -- is any text message you send that discusses city business captured by the city in any way?

A. Not all. They're still on my phone, so they can be downloaded. Some I do, like when I say I'm going to go speak someplace. But if they're big, controversial issues, like when we were doing the arena, I tend to capture those, screen capture them, copy and paste them into an email, and send them to the councilmail archive.

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1	Q. So it's just you decide when to capture
2	the text messages and send them?
3	A. That's correct. There is no city policy
4	that certainly that we have to retain either
5	personally, which I have. And I'm thinking maybe
6	a couple thousand, maybe, on there. I don't know.
7	Quite a few.
8	Q. So a moment ago you told me that you
9	deleted your text messages?
10	A. I said except for I'd really be careful
11	about when I go after my Council stuff.
12	Q. I just want to clarify. So you don't
13	delete any messages that may or may not discuss
14	city
15	A. Correct.
16	Q. That may discuss city business?
17	A. Yes.
18	Q. What if it's a text message that discusses
19	city business but it's not one that you screenshot
20	and send in to the city?
0.1	

A. That would still be on my phone.

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Q. Okay.

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1 A. I will --2 MR. BOYNTON: Go back and look? 3 Absolutely. 4 A. As a matter of fact, you can download it 5 today before I leave. 6 Q. So you had mentioned you searched your 7 text messages in your personal capacity. Did you 8 search the text messages on your phone that are 9 related --10 A. When you use a search feature, it doesn't 11 discriminate between which texts you're searching 12 I mean, you don't, ah-ha, search city 13 business where it says personal business. You can 14 just look for a topic or a subject, and it tells 15 you everything that's responsive. Maybe there is 16 another way to do it. But I'm happy when I leave 17 here today that they can download them all and 18 they'll screen them and give you the parts that 19 they think is applicable to the scope. But I do 20 not recall any text messages relative to the scope 21 of this. 22 And my record retention, I think, as a

1	City Council member, I think is three years, if I
2	remember correctly.
3	MR. BOYNTON: I don't have it in front of
4	me. There is a period.
5	Q. Are you aware of whether other City
6	Council members conduct city business over text
7	message?
8	A. Do I have has someone personally
9	testified to me that they use text what do I
10	think or what do I know?
11	Q. Do you ever text any other City Council
12	members about city business?
13	A. Yes.
14	Q. Who?
15	A. Probably Jessica Abbott, Aaron Rouse, the
16	Mayor, maybe probably Louis Jones. Might be
17	some others, but those are ones I can consciously
18	recall.
19	Q. Mayor Dyer?
20	A. Correct. As a matter of fact, I just sent
21	him one the other day.
22	Q. What kinds of things do you text him

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1 about? 2 A. Well, city business, I mean. I could 3 thumb through, but it wasn't about voting. But it might be something about the -- well, I did talk 4 5 to him about the City Manager. I won't go into 6 the details. But his resignation would be 7 something I had exchanged emails on, along that 8 particular issue recently. Q. Texts or emails? 9 A. Both. 10 11 Q. Who did you text about the City Manager 12 resignation? 13 MR. BOYNTON: I think you can say who you 14 texted. The contents would be legislative 15 privilege. 16 A. Definitely Aaron Rouse, and the Mayor, and 17 Jessica Abbott, and possibly Louis Jones. I'm not saying for certain. As a matter of fact, I texted 18 19 Aaron Rouse during the actual executive session. 20 Q. Okay. Did Mr. Hansen resign or was he 21 fired? 22 A. He resigned.

1	Q. Besides Dave Hansen, any other things you
2	can recall that you texted about with other City
3	Council members?
4	A. Possibly the arena. I'd have to go back
5	and look. I don't want to look like I'm trying to
6	be evasive, but, gosh, there is so much business
7	that we conduct. Saying it's like this, this, or
8	this a number of items is probably the best way
9	to say. I don't really restrict myself as to
10	what, but it would be the full spectrum of
11	activities.
12	Q. Would it be fair to say that it's fairly
13	common for City Council members to text about city
14	business?
15	MR. BOYNTON: I object to the form of the
16	question. I think you need
17	Q. I'm speaking
18	MR. BOYNTON: I'm objecting to the form of
19	the question.
20	MS. HARLESS: No speaking objections.
21	MR. BOYNTON: I'm objecting to the form of
22	the question.

1	MS. HARLESS: No speaking objections.
2	MR. BOYNTON: as to
3	
3	MS. HARLESS: No speaking objections.
4	MR. BOYNTON: I'm going to finish my
5	objection.
6	MS. HARLESS: Objection to form.
7	Otherwise, it's a speaking objection.
8	MR. BOYNTON: You yesterday spent about
9	six hours talking about argumentative and asked
10	and answered and a bunch of other things.
11	MS. HARLESS: Those are objections.
12	MR. BOYNTON: I'm putting mine on the
13	record if you'll let me do it.
14	MS. HARLESS: No. The objection is
15	objection to form.
16	MR. BOYNTON: I'm putting my objection on
17	the record.
18	MS. HARLESS: You did.
19	MR. BOYNTON: No, I have not yet because
20	you interrupted me. When you're done talking
21	he's not talking again until I put my objection on
22	the record.

1	MS. HARLESS: You did.
2	MR. BOYNTON: I have not yet.
3	MS. CHLOPAK: You don't need to raise your
4	voice.
5	MS. HARLESS: You don't have to scream
6	every objection.
7	MR. BOYNTON: I am responding in tone with
8	her tone to me.
9	MS. HARLESS: No, you're not.
10	MR. BOYNTON: My objection is that the
11	question is unclear and vague; and, therefore, I
12	object to the form of the question.
13	MS. CHLOPAK: You're shouting.
14	MR. BOYNTON: I've just done it. I am not
15	shouting. Thank you.
16	MS. CHLOPAK: Be professional. Thank you.
17	MR. BOYNTON: I'm waiting on her being
18	professional. Thank you.
19	MS. HARLESS: I've done nothing
20	unprofessional.
21	MR. BOYNTON: You've interrupted me and
22	tried to prevent me from putting an objection on

1	the record. That's unprofessional.
2	MS. HARLESS: I did not. You're doing an
3	improper speaking objection.
4	MR. BOYNTON: I disagree. I can object to
5	the form of the question for vagueness and
6	MS. HARLESS: Court reporter, can you
7	please repeat the question? I don't remember what
8	it was at this point.
9	THE REPORTER: "Would it be fair to say
10	that it's fairly common for City Council members
11	to text about city business?"
12	A. I do not have a basis upon which to answer
13	your question. I can't speak for what's common
14	for other Council members. I don't have a state
15	of mind to make that kind of assessment.
16	Q. Is it common for you?
17	A. Yes.
18	Q. And you've given me the names of at least
19	four other City Council members that you text
20	about
21	A. That I have texted to, not texted about.
22	Q. That you text city business about?

A. Correct.

Q. As far as you can recall, have you ever texted any other City Council members about changing to a single-member district system of election in Virginia Beach?

A. To the best of my recollection, I cannot give you an answer that I have or haven't. My memory is not that good. But I may have, but I can't affirmatively say that I have.

- Q. And if you say you may have, would those texts have been discovered when you searched your text messages?
- A. Should have been, yes, but I was going to say -- you're asking me a question and I'm trying to answer it. It didn't show up or I would have provided it. But it's more likely that would have been a personal conversation versus a text message. I have talked with many Council members about the -- in-person on the election system. My views are well-known.
- Q. Who are the people you've talked to about the election system?

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A. Well, probably every single member because
we've talked about it in the informal session. So
in that sense they've all heard my views, which
are well-known.
Q. So you're saying every single current
member of City Council?
A. Yes, because we've had informal session
discussions on this, and I've expressed my views.
Q. Have you discussed it with any former
members of the City Council?
A. Let's see who just left. Well because
they would have been in those informal sessions,
too. So John Uhrin would have heard that.
Q. Can you spell that name?
A. U-H-R-I-N.
And I'm trying to think who there would
have been Shannon Kane. That's another one.
She's a former Council member. I'm trying to
think. We had so many changes. Anyone who has

served since I've been on City Council has had

conversations collectively and in formal session.

I have been in favor of a different system for a

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1 long time. It's not a new position that I've 2 It's one I publicly -- I know I have taken. 3 expressed on Facebook at some point. And I've 4 done it in many candidate forums I've expressed my 5 view. 6 Q. When you say you've expressed your view at 7 candidate forums, do you remember any specific 8 candidate forums? 9 A. No, but we get -- some ask it more than 10 Probably the one that I definitely know I 11 was asked was the forum held at Seatack Elementary 12 School. I can't remember the sponsoring 13 organization. I know it must sound terrible I 14 can't recall who sponsored it, but I can't. 15 Q. Was that in 2018? 16 A. Correct. 17 Q. Was it videotaped in any way? A. Not by me. I can't see who else might 18 19 have videotaped it, but it wasn't videotaped by me 20 and I don't have a videotape of it. 21 Q. Was there any kind of transcript that was 22 taken at that --

1	A. I've never known a candidate's forum in
2	Virginia Beach, at least on my part, that's had a
3	transcript done. That doesn't mean that people
4	videotaped it. I have no knowledge of a
5	transcript of those events
6	Q. Okay.
7	A ever being transcribed.
8	Q. Can you remember any other candidate forum
9	where you may have discussed single-member
10	districts?
11	A. No, but if they asked it I would have
12	answered it.
13	Q. Okay. Can you remember the name of any
14	other former City Council members that you may
15	have discussed single-member districts with, going
16	back I know you were first selected in
17	A. Well, as a matter of fact, this goes
18	back well, now she's deceased, but the Mayor
19	it would be Meyera Oberndorf; she's deceased or
20	anyone who served on City Council from '86 through
21	'90 because that was a hot topic. You know, we
22	would have talked about it during that timeframe.

1	I don't know how many of those people are still
2	living.
3	John Baum has passed away. Al Balko has
4	passed away. Meyera has passed away. John Perry
5	has passed away.
6	Then I served again in started in
7	was it '91-'92? Served again.
8	I served on there is a document that
9	was done I don't possess it that was done by
10	the Mayor. It was when Al Balko didn't win
11	his won his district but lost the election,
12	there was a Mayor's Commission on Reapportionment
13	or something. I can't remember the exact name.
14	Don Clark you might remember Don Clark
15	who's a senior lawyer. He chaired it. It was all
16	about, you know, the voting system, should we
17	change it. We actually had a referendum. I can
18	look at those results. But I served on that
19	Commission that made the recommendation to go to a
20	modified award system. That goes back a ways.
21	You probably have that documentation, I suspect.
22	Q. Did you retain a copy of that document?

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A. No. Actually, that's one of the things I was looking for I thought maybe I had. But that goes back a long ways. That was '80 -- maybe It was after that 1990 election, that 1990, '91. Commission and Don Clark chaired it. There was a formal report issued, which I'm sure the City Clerk would have, but I do not have one. O. And what did the formal report recommend? A. We went to a referendum. This is my 10 recollection of what it recommended, so give me a 11 little break on time. We actually had a 12 referendum to go to a seven member ward district 13 system of equal population and retaining the four 14 at-large that went to -- that passed. It went to 15 the General Assembly. It passed in the House of 16 Delegates. It was sidetracked for a period -- you 17 can use the pejorative if you like -- by then 18 Senator Stolle, who's now the Sheriff, I suspect 19 somewhat at the assistance and help of then Vice 20 Mayor, I think it was, Will Sessoms. 21 And it went from when it passed in the 22 House to in the Senate saying to keep the all

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1 at-large system but to make the districts all 2 equal population, which is what -- this is the 3 system we still have today. 4 Then I believe there was another 5 referendum -- don't hold me to the -- and I wasn't 6 here at that time -- and the city -- wasn't a 7 resident here -- that failed to change the system. 8 People were asked once again if they wanted to change, and the answer was no. 9 10 And there has been several efforts, you 11 know, off and on for people to go back. I have 12 another referendum to that end, but that hasn't 13 materialized at this point. Q. Okay. So the formal report first 14 15 recommended that the city hold a referendum to 16 switch to seven single-member districts and four 17 at-large seats? A. Correct. That's my recollection. 18 19 Q. Do you remember how that recommendation 20 was reached? 21 A. Well, they had -- it was the 22 recommendation of the people who served on that

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1 Commission. 2 Q. Right. 3 So how did you decide -- you were on that 4 Commission, correct? 5 A. Correct. It was a long time ago, so give 6 me some break. 7 Q. To the best of your recollection, how did 8 you decide that switching to seven single-member 9 districts and four at-large would be a good idea? 10 A. Well, first of all, we thought -- one of 11 the biggest things that was driving it, in my 12 personal opinion, from my point of view, is that 13 the all at-large election system created 14 disadvantages from a reduced competition because 15 of money. That was the driver. 16 It costs so much money to run an all-city 17 campaign that, really, it disenfranchised people 18 who were not well-aligned with special interests 19 that have the money. So, therefore, special 20 interests were getting a disproportionate 21 representation on the Council because of how hard

it was to campaign, you know, 200-plus square

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miles of the city, and that single districts would provide more competition because it would reduce the capital barriers to entry to campaign. You could effectively campaign door-to-door, much like you can think of General Assembly districts do; and, therefore, we would get a more competitive system and people would benefit from composition that that would allow. That was my entering argument. And, of 10 course, the thing that stimulated it was that Al 11 Balko was a very popular Council member in his 12 district, obviously wasn't perceived well by 13 special interest at large, and he won his district 14 but he lost the election. And that kind of -- so 15 that -- but my view was to reduce the barriers 16 that -- the money faces when you're trying to run 17 a city at-large election and it basically 18 disenfranchises people that have good messages but 19 they can't effectively reach out to the public who 20 they want to serve because it's such a huge 21 dispersed community. And it is a barrier, the 22 entry, to this day.

1	Q. Can you spell the name Al Balko?
2	A. It's Al, A-L. I think Albert was his full
3	official name, but don't hold me to that. Balko
4	is B-A-L-K-O. He's deceased, just so you know.
5	His nickname was the Balko Brigade. I remember
6	that from his campaign. That was his slogan, the
7	Balko Brigade. Nice gentleman who was a retired
8	AT&T manager.
9	Q. So you mentioned a couple of times you
10	thought your biggest reason for supporting the
11	change to single-member districts was that the
12	at-large system reduces competition, correct
13	A. Correct.
14	Q because it costs so much money
15	A. Correct.
16	Q to run?
17	And people aligned with special interests
18	have advantages; is that correct?
19	A. Special monied interest. They provide the
20	money for the campaigns, and so, therefore, that
21	creates a disadvantage for people who aren't
22	willing to align themselves with the the view

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1 and the advocacy of the monied interest in the 2 city.

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- Q. So when you say special monied interest, do you have anyone in particular in mind?
- A. You can probably use a recent campaign because I was the target of one of those. Thompson is one of them. But if you could go back in time, you could find -- you know, change the name, R. G. Moore. You know, you can -- the 10 Chamber. You know, the political PAC of the 11 Chamber.
 - Q. When you say the Chamber --
 - A. The Chamber of Commerce. Their political PAC is definitely -- Board of Realtors, their political PAC. You know, you just have to go and look at the financial records of those candidates and you can see the people that provide those big-dollar contributions. It makes it very -basically, you know, that's how it works. It's politics. But it does -- but when you have to run at large in a big city and you want to run a campaign, and you don't have those, if you can't

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1 communicate with the voters, you can't win someone 2 over you can't market to. So they have a 3 marketing advantage and a communication advantage 4 with the public through their financial backers. 5 And that would be dissipated -- not eliminated but 6 would be dissipated or mitigated by district 7 systems. 8 Q. So you just mentioned that Virginia Beach 9 is a big city? 10 A. Correct. 11 Q. Are there any other challenges that you 12 faced running for an at-large seat in such a big 13 city? 14 A. Well, since the jobs are part-time and you 15 have a full-time employment, so if you -- so then 16 you're just -- you're time-limited. So if you're 17 dollar-limited and you're time-limited, you are 18 obviously -- you have a much more difficult thing 19 to do. But you know that going in up front. But 20 if you're asking me what are the barriers, it's 21 just your physical time because you're working, 22 and the time you have to spend to campaign is

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1 reduced. That's -- so time is a constraint. 2 Q. Is it difficult to campaign across the 3 whole city given how large it is? 4 A. I'm an at-large member, so I can tell you 5 that it is. And so that's where you have to look 6 at -- the fact that it's hard for me doesn't mean 7 the at-large system is inherently flawed. That's 8 another conclusion I would not draw, that it's the 9 wrong system, because the public gets to decide 10 that, I think. But it certainly makes it 11 difficult for me to -- how much I can go 12 door-to-door is evenings and weekends and canvass 13 or how much time you have for campaign meetings or 14 go to different forums and be out in the 15 community, that's all true. 16 And I'm here, so that's proof it can be 17 done, but it takes a lot of work, and it takes a 18 long time. It's not -- not easy, and it's not 19 been replicated very often. That a poorly 20 financed candidate makes it to the City Council is 21 an anomaly versus a pattern. 22 O. Uh-huh.

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1 I want to go back to what you mentioned 2 about the Commission that recommended the change 3 to the seven single-member districts and four 4 You said that referendum was passed? at-large. 5 A. Correct. 6 Q. And, then, it went to the General 7 Assembly? 8 A. Correct. 9 Q. And it was passed by the General Assembly, 10 and, then, it got sidetracked for a period? 11 It didn't get -- it didn't pass -- I A. No. 12 said it passed in the House of Delegates in the 13 General Assembly. Glenn McClanan, then Delegate 14 McClanan, was the sponsor of that and got it 15 through the House, and it passed. It then crosses 16 over, you know, to the Senate. And in the Senate, 17 as I mentioned, then Senator Stolle, now Sheriff 18 Stolle, basically highjacked the thing. That's my 19 pejorative characterization of it. 20 I'm sure back then Vice Mayor Sessoms had 21 a lot to do with that because this would have 22 definitely been a change of the power structure

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1 they got it converted to. We'd still have an all 2 at-large district system -- I mean, an all 3 at-large voting system -- excuse me -- but that we 4 would have -- the districts would be of equal 5 population. 6 An argument had been -- there was a 7 borough called Blackwater, and it had about, you 8 know, probably less than 4,000 people in the whole 9 thing, but they had a Council member. And, 10 obviously, the number of people that wanted to be 11 considered to be a Council member among those was 12 very small. So while you had a choice to choose, 13 you really had no choice. Right? 14 Q. What were the demographics of Blackwater? 15 A. Mostly agricultural farmers. It's a very rural area even today. I couldn't tell you the 16 17 actual ethnicity or anything, breakup of it, but it was -- until we went to the seven district 18 19 system, Blackwater went away as a district seat. 20 And what was then called -- you had Princess Anne 21 and all that and Pungo all became one big 22 district, now called the Princess Anne district,

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1 because you had to have equal population. 2 The last time we had a redrawing of the 3 districts was after the 2020 -- after the 2010 4 census they redrew the districts, and you now have 5 the district names that you have today. 6 Q. So I want to ask you a little bit about 7 Senator Stolle. You said that Senator Stolle 8 highjacked the change of the electoral system. 9 What did you mean by that? 10 A. Well, he didn't honor the voters' will to 11 go to a district system. And he chose to decide 12 that what the voters voted for is not what they 13 needed. I call that highjacking because the 14 voters expressed what they wanted, and he chose 15 that that's not what they needed. To me, that's a 16 highjack. 17 Q. Why do you think he did that? 18 A. Well, my personal view is --19 Q. Your personal view. 20 A. My personal view --21 Personal view only. MR. BOYNTON: 22 A. Personal view is he and the people that

got him to do that, which I have my own suspicions
but no proof, did not want the power structure of
the Beach to be disrupted.
Q. Why?

A. Well, because they're going to lose their advantage to make decisions in the city, and then it's going to be more competitive. And if you had a monopoly and you pretty much can control the majority of Council by how you finance campaigns, why would you want to volunteer and support a system that is going to change the balance of power on how — the power of the voters in the city? That's a disruptive influence. And people tend to not like change. That's my personal opinion.

Q. Okay.

A. But it's nothing to do with disenfranchising people. It's they didn't want something that would change how power was distributed and where it rests in the city.

Q. So besides Senate Stolle, you mentioned Vice Mayor Sessoms at that time?

1	A. At that time. I think he I believe
2	I can't prove this, but I don't believe he acted
3	on his own. I do believe those people had
4	communications, hey, this isn't what we want,
5	despite what the people said. But that's just my
6	suspicion.
7	Q. Is there anyone else you think was
8	communicating with Senator Stolle?
9	A. I have no idea, but I'm certain I'm
10	fairly certain he was. That's my personal
11	opinion. I have no documentation to that effect.
12	But it's history. But it's interesting.
13	Q. You mentioned that Senator Stolle is still
14	involved in city government, correct?
15	A. He's the current Sheriff, which is an
16	elected constitutional office in the Commonwealth
17	of Virginia. It has no legislative authorities;
18	just the Sheriff.
19	Q. All right. I want to go back for a
20	second
21	A. Okay.
22	Q and ask you a question about your

1	personal email account.
2	You only use your personal email account
3	to conduct city business, correct?
4	A. Correct.
5	Q. You don't use your virginiabeach.gov
6	account, correct?
7	A. Only to the extent that it forwards email
8	to my personal account, correct.
9	Q. Have you ever used any other email
10	account, besides your personal email account or a
11	virginiabeach.gov account, to conduct city
12	business?
13	A. I don't have any other personal email
14	accounts. I had a cox.net account many, many
15	years ago, but I switched providers. I haven't
16	had that for, probably, four or five years, I
17	think. It's been a long time since I had a
18	cox.net account. I don't even have access to that
19	account. So I'll tell you I didn't even search
20	that because I don't use it and haven't used it
21	and don't have that service provider.
22	Q. Why do you use your only use your

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1 personal email and not the vb.gov account? 2 A. Because there is no legislative 3 requirement that I do so. It's convenient. 4 Q. Just personal preference? 5 A. It's convenient. That's why I have to 6 religiously copy to councilmail, whatever that 7 thing is when I send stuff out, because if it 8 comes from the vbgov account and I send it back 9 out and copy to that account, then it's a closed 10 loop. 11 Q. So I want to understand that. If you 12 could explain, how are your -- how are emails sent 13 from your personal email account captured by the 14 city's document system? 15 A. When I go into my account on the copy to line or the blind copy to line, there is an 16 17 archive account that the clerk maintains. It's 18 councilmail@vb.com, I think it is. 19 MR. BOYNTON: vbqov.com. 20 A. vbgov.com. And that's where they go to. 21 And I just send a reply. If I don't reply to the

email, then I just delete it because I know where

1	it came. I don't retain something I don't respond
2	to. Like I got, hey, we're doing a a good
3	example would be Public Affairs Office,
4	Communication sends out all these notices: city
5	event, city event. I don't retain
6	those. I just (indicating) because I'm not
7	responding to them. It's just information. They
8	put it out. They have it. All Council members
9	got it, so it's going to City Council. I know it
10	came through vbgov. I just swipe those and make
11	them go away.
12	Q. Does anybody else retain that email?
13	A. Those emails would be retained.
14	MR. BOYNTON: They're sent through the
15	vb.com system is what he's telling you.
16	A. They go from vbgov.com to City Council.
17	Q. I understand that. I'm just trying to
18	understand if there's any kind of gap between what
19	is being retained.
20	So any email that you reply to, in order
21	for it to be recorded in captured in the city
22	system, you have to cc the email account?

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1	A. Correct.
2	Q. Are there any emails that you send that
3	are city business that you do not cc the city
4	email account?
5	A. I will never say that I've never not done
6	it, but, to the best of my knowledge, I have not
7	consciously omitted providing it.
8	Q. To the best of your recollection, have you
9	ever emailed anyone about changing to a
10	single-member district system for City Council
11	elections in Virginia Beach?
12	A. I cannot recall that specifically. I'm
13	not saying I didn't; I just can't recall.
14	Q. You are currently an at-large City Council

- member for the City of Virginia Beach, correct?
- A. Correct. 16

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- Q. How long have you held that position? 17
- A. I was elected to this position in 2011 in 18 a special election. And I took office on the 19 20 Thursday after the election.
 - Q. So you've held the at-large seat from 2011 to the present?

1	A. Correct. I ran two reelection campaigns,
2	2014 and 2018.
3	Q. And, then, prior to the current time
4	period, you also served on the Virginia Beach City
5	Council twice before?
6	A. Correct. I served from 1986 to 1990 as
7	the Kempsville borough representative. That's
8	back when we had the borough the borough still
9	existed before we went to the legislative change
10	that we have today.
11	And, then, I was elected in 1992 in the
12	at-large race. And I served until 1995, March
13	15th, I believe it was, when I resigned to
14	relocate to Tennessee.
15	Q. Okay. So the first time you held office
16	was 1986 to 1990?
17	A. Correct.
18	Q. And you were elected to that position or
19	were you appointed?
20	A. Elected.
21	Q. And, then, the second time?
22	A. Elections were in May at that time, just

1	so you know. We've changed the time when Council
2	was elected. They were elected in May in that
3	timeframe.
4	Q. When was the time of the elections
5	changed?
6	A. I'd have to rely upon I couldn't tell
7	you. But sometime I don't know the exact date
8	when that was changed, but it was changed to
9	November. I can't give you the date. You'll have
10	to get that from someone else. I can't recall. I
11	do know when we elected the Mayor in for the
12	first gosh. I don't want to say. I just can't
13	recall.
14	Q. Okay. Then the second time you were on
15	the City Council was 1992 to 1995 at-large?
16	A. Correct.
17	Q. Were you elected in 1992
18	A. Correct.
19	Q or were you appointed?
20	A. Elected. Yes, ma'am.
21	Q. Why was there a gap between your time on
22	the City Council between 1990 and 1992?

1	A. One, I didn't get reelected. Special
2	interest made sure I didn't come back. So I have
3	personal experience.
4	Q. Which election was it that you lost?
5	A. That was 19 1990.
6	Q. What is your personal view about why you
7	lost that election?
8	A. It was two things. One, there was a lot
9	of money spent to make sure we didn't come back
10	because only one of the incumbents came back.
11	That was Nancy Parker. Very close race,
12	400-something votes.
13	We also that election had been preceded
14	by the riots at the oceanfront. And I think the
15	public, rightfully so if you run a ship
16	aground, the people hold you responsible. So all
17	the people that were up for reelection, save one,
18	bit the dust, if I remember correctly.
19	MR. BOYNTON: Politically speaking, to be
20	clear.
21	A. Yes. Politically speaking. Yes.
22	And the public felt, obviously, we didn't

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1 do a good job, but also a substantial sum of money 2 was also spent to make sure we didn't come back.

- Q. So when you say a substantial amount of money was spent to make sure you didn't come back, who was spending that money?
- A. Well, you can look -- you have to go back and look at the financial records, but it's the same group -- it would be different names, but the same market segments: developers, realtors, 10 because development was a big issue at that time. 11 You have to go back to '86 and understand the 12 election -- if I could digress for a moment, if 13 that's permissible.
 - Q. Briefly, yes.

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A. In 1986, or prior to that, there had been a lot of high-density development approved in the City of Virginia Beach. We grew by a phenomenal rate. We were growing by 20-, 30,000 people a year at some of those points in there. This is a consequence somewhat of the Reagan defense boom. But, you know, also, interest rates were kind of high, too, so people wanting to sell product,

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1 wanted to create a lot of high-density 2 development. 3 You know, the public was really upset 4 They actually defeated, in 1985, a bond 5 referendum for roads and schools and sewer. 6 That's just how angry they were. 7 So in 1986, there were five of us that ran 8 together as The Team For Responsible Leadership. 9 John Perry, a good friend of mine, the first 10 African American elected to City Council, the 11 most -- oldest person ever first elected to City 12 Council, retired history teacher at Kempsville 13 High School, we ran together. It was myself, 14 Barbara -- myself, John Perry -- gosh. That guy's 15 name -- it will come back. Sam Meekins. Not Sam 16 Sam -- his brother's got the memorial 17 named after him at the Veterans -- at the Convention Center. Sam -- I can't think of his 18 19 last name. And Nancy Parker. Anyway --20 Q. How many --21 A. There were five of us. It was called The 22 Team for Responsible Leadership. I don't have

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1 that brochure either. I wish I did. That would 2 be a great thing to put up on a wall in a picture 3 frame, but I don't have it. 4 And as a consequence, four of us got 5 elected. And along with the Mayor, that gave --6 then -- excuse me -- Meyera Oberndorf gave us five 7 votes. 8 Did I say we had five? That's close. 9 And, then, Bob Jones was an at-large 10 Council member. And I negotiated in my house -- I 11 lived in Thalia at the time -- that if we voted 12 for him for Mayor that he would vote to make 13 Meyera Vice Mayor. 14 This might be a story you've never heard 15 before. We were in my living room. We negotiated 16 that. 17 In fact, that did shift the balance of 18 power. And Bob Jones more often than not voted 19 with us. And we made a lot of changes: you know, 20 sign ordinances, billboard ordinances, changed the 21 nature about development. We made -- cost a lot 22 of people probably money that we didn't even know

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1 in terms of what they couldn't accomplish. 2 that was a very good period, I thought, of the 3 city. 4 But, nonetheless, that's the backdrop to 5 give you. You put that in the backdrop of -- put 6 the two together: the riot issue, which people, 7 rightfully so, thought we didn't do what we should 8 have done, those two things contributed along with 9 a substantial sum of money. 10 But we won that race in 1986 on \$30,000, 11 which is phenomenal. That just tells you how 12 upset the public really was with the development 13 that had preceded, and also building up the bond 14 referendum that defeated in 1985 including 15 schools, which are very popular in Virginia Beach. 16 That just gives you an idea how upset people were 17 with the status quo. 18 Q. Just a second ago you said people were 19 upset about the riots and rightfully so. What did 20 you mean by that? 21 A. I think they have -- our job as Council 22 members first and foremost is always public

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1 safety. You know, I just come from a Navy 2 background. You run a ship aground, I don't care 3 who all didn't do their job; you know, the captain loses his job just -- because your job is to make 4 5 sure that's not happening. 6 So people are holding us accountable for 7 how we prepped for it, you know, why didn't we 8 anticipate better, the police -- you can look at a 9 lot of places. In the end, the buck stops at -it's the City Council who's ultimately 10 11 accountable to the public. And they held us 12 accountable, and they fired us. 13 And I really can't argue with their 14 assessment, you know. I'm just saying that, on 15 top of that, there was these other things going on 16 that people certainly made sure -- and, as a 17 matter of fact, one of the ads they ran back in 18 1986, which was retracted when John Perry was on 19 our ticket, they -- I don't know where they built 20 it, but they did this -- they had us all 21 characterized as monkeys. They had a monkey ad. 22 It didn't last long on TV, as you can imagine.

1	But they characterized the five of us running for
2	election as monkeys, monkeying around, going to
3	ruin the city. But that's what they used.
4	Well, obviously, clearly, you know, with
5	an African American on our ticket, John Perry, you
6	can imagine that that took on even then, that
7	that had some kind of bad taste. I'll put it that
8	way. Everybody can draw their own conclusions.
9	But I think it probably helped us more than hurt
10	us because in the end it was all the backlash just
11	showing how arrogant some of those people were
12	that they thought that that would that that
13	would be an acceptable way of campaigning in the
14	Beach, which it was not. They were highly
15	ridiculed and castigated for that effort.
16	Q. You said the ad was on TV?
17	A. Yes. Not long.
18	Q. Was it in print anywhere?
19	A. I don't remember print, but it was run on
20	TV. It was a TV ad.
21	Q. Do you know who paid for that ad?
22	A. I do not. I don't my memory of that is

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1 just not that good. I do remember the ad. I know 2 it backlashed and it disappeared rapidly. 3 Q. Can you describe what the ad looked like? A. It was five monkeys. Obviously, people in 4 5 a suit and the (indicating) kind of thing, even the noises. It was pretty interesting. It's --6 7 and a vegetation kind of background. But just --I can't remember. 8 9 Q. Did it have your names? A. I can't recall. I just can't recall. 10 11 I --12 Q. Did it say Team for Responsible 13 Leadership? 14 A. I can't recall that either. I just 15 remember that the ad came out. We thought, oh, my gosh, how desperate can they be. And the backlash 16 17 was huge. And it disappeared as quickly as it 18 came along. 19 O. What was the backlash? 20 A. Well, bad taste. I think there was some 21 view by some that it was -- I don't think that was 22 the case personally. But some people viewed it,

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1	because John Perry was on our ticket, that somehow
2	it had a racial tone to it. I don't think that's
3	true. I think I don't think they were being
4	that malicious. I just think they were going and
5	saying how can you show these people are a bunch
6	of jokers, they're not serious. These are the
7	people that you think can represent the city and
8	run the city's business? They're going to monkey
9	around and mess things up. I think that was the
10	nature.
11	But there were parts of the community that
12	certainly took it the wrong way and they took it
13	in a different way. But needless to say, the ad
14	disappeared as quickly as it arrived. And I think
15	it helped us in all fairness, I think it helped
16	us rather than hurt us.
17	MR. BOYNTON: So we've been going about an
18	hour. Let's take a five-minute break, stretch our
19	legs, use the bathroom, all that.
20	MS. HARLESS: I just want to ask one more
21	question about his City Council earlier City
22	Council time.

1	Q. Why did your time on the City Council end
2	in 1995?
3	A. I resigned. And I resigned because the
4	Navy made me an offer I couldn't refuse. They
5	said, We'd like you to go take this job out in
6	Memphis, Tennessee, and if you do we'll send you
7	to Harvard for a year later, and we'll send you to
8	the National War College a year later. So I got
9	two degrees out of it. And I went out and did a
10	job out there that needed to get done. And it was
11	good for me, good for my family. And I just made
12	a choice. It wasn't an easy choice to make, but
13	sometimes you've got to think about family
14	considerations in the long-term.
15	So that's why I departed. It wasn't
16	anything about frustration or I thought I was
17	going to be you know, any of that kind of
18	stuff. Other people were more disappointed that I
19	left, and some were happy.
20	MS. HARLESS: All right. Good time for a
21	break.
22	(A recess was taken.)

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1	Q. Okay. Ready?
2	A. Absolutely.
3	Q. All right. Why did you decide to run
4	again for an at-large seat in was it 2011?
5	A. The special election that is correct.
6	I had ran in the election in 2010. It was the top
7	two. I was number three. And, then, Rita
8	Bellitto resigned to relocate with her spouse.
9	And people encouraged me. They thought I should
10	run since I was the number three voter on the
11	election in 2010. And with my wife's concurrence,
12	I decided to run.
13	Q. Why did you decide to run?
14	A. Because I thought there was a voice that
15	was not being heard on the City Council, and I
16	thought I could be an effective and competent
17	voice and push back on the status quo a bit.
18	That's why I ran.
19	Q. What was the voice that you thought was
20	not being heard on the City Council?

not being heard on the City Council?

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A. Fiscal responsibility; the average citizen who pays most of the bill but gets the least

1	amount of the benefits. And I thought those
2	voices were being emasculated by money interests,
3	which I, you know the decisions being made were
4	not in the public's best interest, and a
5	counter-voice needed to be heard. Even if we
6	weren't the majority, at least we got a chance to
7	be heard on the dais.
8	Q. You said you also ran in the 2010
9	election?
10	A. Correct.
11	Q. Was that for the at-large seat?
12	A. Correct.
13	Q. You lost that election?
14	A. Correct.
15	Q. Why do you think you lost that election?
16	A. The voters picked the other two people to
17	be the top two. I mean, I can't I don't judge
18	the mind of the voters. I just didn't do a
19	successful job communicating why they should vote
20	for me.
21	Q. What is your current salary as a member of
22	the City Council?

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- Q. And you mentioned earlier that you have other employment besides your position with the city?
- A. That is correct.
- Q. And what is that employment?
 - A. I am the Director of Submarine Warfare
 Requirements, Warfare Development and Readiness,
 for Commander Submarine Forces for the United
 States Navy.
- Q. And how long have you been in that job?
- A. Since March the 2nd of -- March the 11th of 2002.
- Q. And it's based in Virginia Beach?
- A. No. It's based in Norfolk, Virginia.
- 16 Q. Okay.
- A. And Naval Support Activity Norfolk is where the Command is located.
- Q. Okay. Let's switch back to your City
 Council job. What are your job duties as a City
- 21 | Council member?
- 22 A. To fulfill my oath of office. And more

1	specifically, to I'm a fiduciary agent for the
2	public. I have an oversight role. And I have a
3	legislative role. And all those are a part of my
4	overall I would call my accountability to
5	fulfill my oath.
6	Q. Anything else?
7	A. That's it.
8	Q. You'd agree that as a City Council member
9	you have a lot of responsibilities, wouldn't you?
10	A. I have all the responsibilities vested in
11	me in the Charter, and they are extensive.
12	Q. Do you think a City Council member is an
13	important position?
14	A. It's a position of public trust;
15	therefore, yes, it is an important position. Any
16	position that can confiscate collectively other
17	people's wealth and income through the power of
18	the state is important.
19	Q. Do you communicate directly with
20	constituents?
21	A. I certainly do. I maintain as a matter
22	of fact, if you look at my Facebook, you'll see

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what I do. I hold town halls. I'll be speaking someplace on Saturday. I don't think anyone would call me a wallflower as a Council member.

- Q. How often do you hold town halls?
- A. Probably on a quarterly basis, I would say, but at least once every six months. And sometimes I'll hold a whole bunch in all districts in the same two-month period. Usually just before the budget I will hold a town hall in each of the seven districts just to get a feel for what people -- what's on their mind as we go forward for the budget process.
- Q. Besides the town halls related to the budget, where do you usually hold the town hall meetings?
- A. I hold them in libraries, and schools, and the EMS building on the Boulevard. Usually always public facilities are always open to the public. Then, of course, I speak at different breakfasts or evening engagements at different civic organizations, they'll invite me to speak at, like I'm speaking Saturday at an event.

Q. What is the event you're speaking at Saturday?

- A. Virginia Beach Taxpayers Alliance at

 Marian Manor on Saturday. But I've spoken at

 Ruritans, you know, all of the -- sometimes church

 groups, you know. It all depends. Wherever I get

 invited, if I have the time to make available I'll

 show up.
 - Q. So besides Facebook communications, town halls, and speaking events, are there any other ways you can think of that you interact with constituents?
 - A. Well, at the Council meetings itself. You know, after the Council meetings are over I'm always out in the crowd, you know, pressing the flesh, talking with people. Before the informal sessions I'm talking to people from the public who come and sit around the table. And, obviously, indirectly, at any time someone is watching us on TV or watching in the chambers, I guess you can say that we are interacting with the public, though not in an active way but in a passive way.

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1 They're hearing what we think. And sometimes 2 they'll interact with us later. 3 Q. Do you ever text with constituents? 4 I don't get much texts from A. Not too much. 5 constituents. A lot of emails from constituents 6 because usually they come through vb.gov because 7 they go to the web page. But, no, I do not get a 8 lot of texts from constituents. I do get emails, 9 but they usually, almost always, come through the 10 vbqov. I get phone calls, too. There are people 11 who like to call. I get quite a few of those, 12 usually two or three a night. 13 Q. Have you ever run for any public elected 14 office besides Virginia Beach City Council? 15 A. No. 16 Q. Have you ever been appointed to fill a 17 vacant seat? 18 A. No. 19 Q. Have you ever endorsed a candidate running 20 for a seat on the Virginia Beach City Council? 21 A. Oh, yes. 22 O. Who?

1	A. Well, I guess I ran with John Perry, so
2	that would be the first place I'd start. That's
3	an endorsement. I've endorsed Robert Dean. I
4	endorsed Aaron Rouse. Gosh. I'm trying to think
5	all the elections that have taken place.
6	Q. If you want, you can limit it to
7	2016-2018.
8	A. Okay. Thank you. That will help me a
9	little bit because I'm trying to go back.
10	Q. Let's limit it to the most recent time you
11	were reelected.
12	A. 2018. I endorsed Aaron Rouse. I
13	endorsed I'm trying to think who all ran in
14	that race. Was it Shannon Kane? At the end I
15	know I endorsed R. K. Kowalewitch because there
16	was just no other good choices. That just tells
17	you how bad the choices were.
18	Q. Did you endorse Sabrina Wooten?
19	A. I did not.
20	Q. Why?
21	A. I looked at her financial disclosures.
22	She is backed by Bruce Thompson, the developer

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where she got her money. That is why I didn't endorse her.

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- Q. Why did that mean you didn't endorse her?
- 4 A. Well, because Bruce Thompson, one, ran a 5 tremendous -- raised a lot of money that ran the 6 negative campaigns against myself. And he 7 certainly is one of those monied special interests 8 which I talked to; and, generally speaking, that would be an automatic disqualifier for me almost. 9 10 Someone who is backed by him is not somebody who I 11 would support on a political basis because, 12 obviously, we don't share the same views of the future. So that's me. Just a discriminator. 13
 - Q. Are you aware why Bruce Thompson backed Sabrina Wooten's campaign?
 - A. I can't read his mind. I only read what influence he exerts in the city and on the City Council, and that his views are not aligned with mine. But I have no idea as to why he -- I can't read his mind why he endorsed Sabrina. I don't know.
 - Q. Do you have a personal opinion of why he

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backed Sabrina Wooten?

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- A. I do not. I assume that she must be aligned with his interests, but I do not know why.
- Q. Anyone else in the 2018 election that you endorsed?
- A. Bobby Dyer for Mayor. I'm trying to run through all the candidates for all the races that happened. Oh. I endorsed Tim Worst -- that's W-O-R-S-T -- against Barbara Henley.
 - Q. Why didn't you endorse Barbara Henley?
- 11 A. We just have different political views.
 12 And Tim Worst was aligned with my -- with my
- thoughts that we don't need to be constantly
- raising taxes, that we're misusing or borrowing
- 15 authority, and we weren't in support of, like, big
- 16 projects that were taking place in the city, so it
- 17 | was just the political alignment of objectives.
- 18 Q. Uh-huh.
- A. I'm trying to think if there was -- that comes to mind. I have to go back. Those are the ones I can remember.
 - Q. Okay. What about 20 -- what was the

1	next the year before that?
2	A. It was 2014 is when I ran. 2014 is when I
3	ran. But 2016, I wasn't in that race.
4	Q. Did you endorse anyone even though
5	A. I endorsed Dane Blythe against Rosemary
6	Wilson.
7	Q. Why didn't you endorse Rosemary Wilson?
8	A. The same reasons I wouldn't be endorsing
9	Wooten. Her alignment of financial supporters
10	were definitely not on the same political
11	wavelength as myself.
12	Q. Did the same people support Rosemary
13	Wilson as Sabrina Wooten?
14	A. I can't say all the same but some of the
15	same.
16	Q. What are the same?
17	A. Bruce Thompson for one. That's enough.
18	Q. Any other people you can remember
19	endorsing in 2019? Did you endorse Jessica
20	Abbott?
21	A. I did. Thank you for helping me. I
22	definitely endorsed Jessica Abbott. I think I

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endorsed Shannon Kane in that 2016 race, if I remember correctly.

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- Q. Why did you endorse Jessica Abbott over Amelia Ross-Hammond?
- 5 A. She was a -- not a light rail supporter, 6 and Hammond was. That was the biggest issue. And 7 I thought she had a -- she was more in touch with 8 the interests that I had, my political agenda, 9 than Ross-Hammond because she had a record. But 10 she voted -- she voted for all those budgets with 11 budget tax increases. That and light rail -- her 12 fiscal positions and her support of light rail 13 were more than sufficient to support Jessica over 14 Ross-Hammond.
 - Q. And, then, what about 2014?
- A. I can't remember that race. That tells
 you how awful that is. I can't even remember who
 all the candidates were. I know I ran myself, but
 I can't tell you who else was in the -- I just
 can't recall.
- 21 0. What about 2012?
- 22 A. I wasn't -- I guess I was just on Council

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1 for that 2012 race, wasn't running. I can't 2 recall. I know I didn't support the current --3 when the Mayor ran for reelection. I know that. 4 Q. Are you talking about Mayor Sessoms? 5 A. Yes. I would not have supported him for 6 certain. 7 Q. You mentioned you endorsed the campaign of 8 Aaron Rouse, correct? 9 A. Uh-huh. 10 Q. Why? 11 A. I thought he represented a fresh voice. 12 He clearly wasn't being -- as a matter of fact, 13 wasn't being supported by Bruce Thompson. 14 Thompson, in fact -- I still have this letter --15 ran a personal letter with his financial 16 disclosure on it telling him that John Moss, 17 Rouse, all of us, would be the end of Virginia 18 Beach if any of us got elected. So not being 19 endorsed by Bruce Thompson is clearly a good 20 reason to support someone. Q. When you said that Bruce Thompson ran a 21 22 personal letter --

1	A. He had a big ad. It was, like, a letter
2	he sent out to all his constituents, and he
3	personally said who people should vote for and who
4	they shouldn't vote for. And he called us The
5	Magnificent Seven. And Rouse was one of those
6	names that was on there. I do have that piece of
7	literature, if you thought that was in the scope
8	of the thing. I didn't see where they fell into
9	the scope if you did. I still have that on my
10	desk. I'd be happy to provide that. I didn't
11	think it fell within this.
12	But that was something that he ran, and
13	mailed out to all his friends I should say.
14	That's how I got it. Someone sent it to me. I
15	don't know who he mailed it to, but someone who
16	got it provided it to me. That's how I got it.
17	But I just thought Aaron represented a
18	fresh voice. Smart guy. Communicates well. And
19	I think he has a different view than the good ol'
20	boy network he often talked about during his
21	campaign. And I couldn't agree with him more.
22	Q. What's the good ol' boy network?

A. I talked about these monied interests, the
Development Authority, these people that walk in
there with their six votes and they, basically,
listen to us but then they do what they want
anyway. And that's a personal opinion, but I
think it was a perception held by the public that
these aren't people you can trust.
Q. Have you ever actively opposed a candidate
running for City Council in Virginia Beach?
A. Can you define actively?
Q. Have you ever donated money to a campaign
because you didn't want someone else's campaign to
win?
A. I think every contribution you make is
that case.
Q. Have you ever run an ad?
Q. Have you ever run an ad? A. No. Not run an ad, no.
A. No. Not run an ad, no.
A. No. Not run an ad, no. Q. Have you ever made a public comment
A. No. Not run an ad, no. Q. Have you ever made a public comment against a particular campaign?

who I didn't want to get elected. If you if
you ask me to account when and who it was, I
can't, but they're out there on the public view.
I don't have them. Some private private thing.
Q. When you said you've done Facetime videos,
what does that mean?
A. You know, Facebook Live and you go out and
you post it on your website not on your website
but your Facebook site. I have those, but they're
on Facebook. I don't have some archive video
collection, something saved. But they're out
there on my Facebook.
Q. All right. Have you ever personally
contributed money to a candidate running for a
seat on the Virginia Beach City Council?
A. Oh, yes. Now you're going to ask me who?
Q. Yes.
A. This will not be an exhaustive list, but
I'm just going to give you something because,
obviously, their campaign reports would reflect
that.
Q. Uh-huh.

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Virginia Beach?

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A. Bobby Dyer, Tim Worst, Eric Wray. He ran in the race against Wooten. He's another African American, just to make that for the record. Dane Blythe, Jessica Abbott. That's a good representation. I can't recall the people I've written a check to. Q. Has your campaign ever given money to another candidate's campaign? A. My campaign? I do not recall writing a check during a campaign, but I'd have to go back and look to see if -- when I closed out my campaign account whether or not I wrote a check to another campaign just to close out my own account towards -- that's possible, but usually I write those checks to charity, but I won't say it didn't That's possible, but I don't recall happen. writing any -- I rarely had enough money for my own campaign to give it to someone else. I do not recall doing that. Q. Have you ever volunteered for the campaign

of a candidate running for City Council in

1	A. Oh, yes. Since I was knee-high to a
2	grasshopper, probably. I've been campaigning when
3	I was 16, way back when, so yes.
4	Q. Okay. What about in 2018?
5	A. 2018. I'm actively on the Council for
6	2018. I was busy doing my own race, so I didn't
7	have much time to do stuff. But when I was
8	passing out literature, I did include some
9	literature for other people.
10	Q. Who else?
11	A. I'm trying to now I'm trying to think
12	of who was running that I would have done that
13	for. Probably Eric Wray. Eric Wray. I did do
14	some campaigning for Eric Wray, although I was
15	busy with my own campaign.
16	Q. Why did you support the campaign of Eric
17	Wray?
18	A. Well, Eric Wray is a longtime personal
19	friend, number one. He's always been helpful in
20	my races. He's a small businessman. And his
21	political views are very much aligned with my own.
22	Q. Any other reason?

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A. No.

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- Q. Did you support his campaign because you didn't prefer Sabrina Wooten?
- A. Well, I would have supported -- no matter who the opposition was, I would have supported Eric Wray because he's a personal friend. when you asked me that question about why I didn't support her, I wouldn't have -- if there had been no one else in the race, I would not have 10 supported her because of who was backing her 11 campaign.
 - Q. Anyone else you can remember handing out literature for in 2018 besides Eric Wray?
- 14 A. No, I cannot.
- 15 Q. Okay. What about 2016? Do you remember 16 volunteering on anyone's campaign?
- 17 A. Well, I know I did stuff with Jessica, but 18 I can't tell you -- you know, I did some 19 door-to-door stuff for Jessica. Obviously, at 20 different events, when I spoke places, if it 21 was -- I was there being invited as -- like, a VBT

22 breakfast or a Taxpayer Alliance meeting or

1	someplace like that, I would have said I'm
2	supporting Jessica. But that would be the extent
3	of it.
4	Q. 2014?
5	A. I can't recall.
6	Q. 2012?
7	A. I know I you're going back that far.
8	No. I just can't remember. I'm certain somebody
9	would say he did this, but I'm not recalling it.
10	Q. In 2018, did you ever put up a yard sign
11	for any other candidates running for City Council
12	in Virginia Beach?
13	A. Yard sign? No.
14	Q. Sticker?
15	A. I can't see a sticker. But when you say a
16	yard sign, can you be more explicit? I'm thinking
17	a yard sign has specific meaning in a campaign.
18	Do you mean any kind of sign posted on a property
19	independent if it's a yard or not?
20	Q. Yes.
21	A. Okay. I didn't want to be evasive, but a
22	yard sign has a specific meaning. Then there is

1	the four-by-four signs that go up for candidates
2	that goes on property. You want to include that
3	in your
4	Q. Yes.
5	A. Okay. Just making then I probably did.
6	I can't tell you who gave us signs, but we went
7	out in a truck and put signs up. I just can't
8	recall which candidates they would be for, but
9	they would be one of those candidates I endorsed.
10	But we did go out and put four-by-four signs up.
11	Some candidates didn't have them because they
12	couldn't afford them. I can't tell you which ones
13	they were, but, yes, I did go out and help and put
14	posts in and put signs up; I just can't recall
15	who.
16	MR. BOYNTON: You're killing her again, I
17	think.
18	A. Sorry.
19	MR. BOYNTON: That's a lot of words per
20	minute.
21	A. I'll slow down.
22	Q. Have you ever supported a candidate

1	running for City Council in Virginia Beach in any
2	other way, in let's just start with 2018?
3	A. In any other way? I'm trying to think of
4	the ways you mentioned. You mentioned signs. You
5	mentioned money. I mentioned I did Facetime
6	videos. I mentioned I did some distribution of
7	material. And
8	Q. Endorsements?
9	A. Endorsements. I didn't do any TV ads. I
10	didn't do any radio ads, that I can recall. So I
11	would think I can't think of something else,
12	but that doesn't mean there wasn't. But I'm not
13	recalling something we haven't captured.
14	Q. Okay. Can you think of any candidates for
15	City Council who supported your campaign in any
16	way?
17	A. Well, Jessica Abbott has supported my
18	campaign. Council members, correct?
19	Q. Uh-huh.
20	A. Bobby Dyer, Louis Jones. That's probably
21	a thin list. I'm not the most popular person.
22	Q. What did Jessica Abbott do to support your

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1 campaign? A. I recall Facebook stuff that she did. 2 3 helped critique campaign materials. I call that, 4 you know, a help. And I think when she went out 5 and about town, I'm sure she spoke on my behalf 6 that she was supporting me. Those are things I 7 know that she did. 8 Q. What about Mayor Dyer? 9 A. He publicly stated he was supporting me. 10 And I do recall a small campaign contribution. 11 But that would be the extent of his known support. 12 Q. What about Louis Jones?

A. He let me put signs on his property if I chose to. And I think he told people in the community that he was supporting me. But he didn't -- we didn't actively campaign together or anything of that nature. But that's what I can think of. He didn't make any public endorsement, if that's what you're asking.

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Q. Can you think of anyone else in the Virginia Beach city government that supported your campaign for City Council?

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A. I probably would discourage that because I think they should remain apolitical. So I am not cognizant of anyone who was actively supporting my campaign, nor did I ever solicit it.

- Q. Does Sheriff Stolle ever support anyone's campaign?
- A. Elected constitutional officers is not city government, number one. He certainly didn't support my campaign last time. I don't know that he's ever actively endorsed me, that I'm cognizant of. That doesn't mean that he hasn't supported me unbeknownst to me, but I've never gotten a check or anything where I've seen his name on it saying, hey, I'm for John Moss.

And City Commissioner of Revenue, no. I can't recall any -- maybe John Atkinson because he was City Treasurer. But I don't think in 2018 he gave me money, but I don't recall if he gave me absolutely a public endorsement, but he may have. But for the most part, not any of the constitutional officers which aren't city employees, but I don't recall, you know, getting

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1 their active endorsement. As a matter of fact, 2 quite to the contrary in 2014. 3 Q. Why do you say that? 4 A. Because they endorsed the person I ran 5 against or was running for the empty seat. 6 Q. Who was the person you ran against? 7 A. Dennis Free. 8 Q. Have you ever held any other position with 9 a city government, whether Virginia Beach or 10 elsewhere? 11 A. When I was living in Germantown, Tennessee 12 I was appointed to the Education Commission, but 13 that Commission didn't have any direct oversight 14 over the Shelby County Schools because Germantown 15 was a city where the county provided schools. was just a liaison to the school system there. 16 17 did serve in that capacity. That was 1995 to 19 -- sometime in 1998 when I left for Harvard, so 18 19 for about a three-year period of time. 20 Q. So very briefly, and slowly for the court 21 reporter's benefit, what are your current policy 22 priorities as a City Council member?

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1 A. No tax and fee increases is number one. 2 Q. What else? A. Two is flooding, meaning flood 3 4 mitigations, and specifically a bond referendum in 5 2020. 6 O. What else? 7 A. And to successfully complete our post-May 8 31st shooting facility realignment we have to take 9 place. We're redoing about \$50 million worth of 10 buildings to get everybody back to the main 11 campus. And that is a priority for me. 12 Q. Would you say changing the city's 13 electoral system to single-member districts is a 14 priority? 15 A. It would be a priority for me, but here is the context. I support having -- and I have said 16 17 this and continue to say it -- us having a bond -having a referendum in 2020 and letting the public 18 19 vote. I have also said I am not opposed to giving 20 them a choice of the hybrid system and a 10

It's not for me to decide as a Council

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district system.

1	member. This government belongs to the people,
2	and they shouldn't be denied the right to vote.
3	And when they vote, then we should go to the
4	General Assembly. And unlike in the past, the
5	General Assembly has to modify our Charter. And
6	whatever the public decides is what they should
7	do. This is not my decision to make. I owe it to
8	the public so they have a right to decide for
9	themselves. It's their government, not mine.
10	Q. If it were your choice, would you select a
11	single-member district system of election?
12	A. I personally support and I said this
13	you have asked me, so I would if the public
14	wants 10, I support the hybrid system that came
15	back because I think it represents a balance of
16	competing interests in the community. And that's
17	a balance against parochialism you can get from a
18	district system. They have their pluses and
19	minuses. I think it's the best point of
20	indifference, the need of reflection on the point
21	of the curve, of the political curve so to speak.
22	And that I what I would support Dut I would
	And that's what I would support. But I would

1	respect whatever the public chooses, including
2	retaining the current system should that be their
3	choice.
4	Q. So just to be clear for the record, when
5	you say the hybrid system you're referring to
6	seven single-member districts and four at-large?
7	A. Correct.
8	Q. Do you know how Sabrina Wooten came to run
9	for City Council?
10	A. I do not.
11	Q. Had you ever heard of Sabrina Wooten
12	before she ran for City Council?
13	A. I had not. She had served on some boards
14	and commissions, but I didn't know her.
15	Q. Do you know anything about how her
16	candidacy for City Council came about?
17	A. What do you mean? Can you be more
18	specific? I assume she got 125 signatures and she
19	filed and did that. I'm sure you're not asking
20	that.
21	Q. No.
22	Do you know anything about who supported

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1 her candidacy as a City Council member? 2 A. I do know her initial campaign manager was 3 Brian Kerwin. And somewhere in the course of that 4 campaign he was dismissed. 5 Q. Who is -- can you spell that name? 6 A. Brian, B-R-I-A-N, Kerwin, K-E-R-W-I-N. 7 Kerwin. 8 O. Who is he? 9 A. He's a political consultant. And I don't, you know -- he's a local figure that's around 10 11 quite a bit, but he does run campaigns. That's a 12 profession that he does. I know that only because 13 it became common knowledge, not because he called 14 me up and said, hey, John, I just got let go or 15 anything like that. 16 Q. Has he helped run any other City Council 17 members' campaigns? 18 A. Oh, yeah. He's been involved in a number 19 of campaigns. Now you're going to ask me which 20 I can't recall. But he's been involved in 21 a number of Council members' campaigns and people 22 wanting to be on City Council's campaigns.

1	Q. Can you remember any specific examples?
2	A. I think he's currently supporting Rosemary
3	Wilson's reelection campaign. I think he worked
4	Shannon Kane's campaign when she was on City
5	Council. But, really, that would be about
6	that's all not known for a fact but my best
7	understanding.
8	Q. Do you know how Sabrina Wooten hired
9	came to hire Brian Kerwin?
10	A. No. I don't really know anything about
11	the workings of her campaign.
12	Q. Okay. And you mentioned earlier that you
13	did not support her campaign?
14	A. That is correct.
15	Q. Is the only reason why you didn't support
16	her campaign because she got money from Bruce
17	Thompson?
18	A. Well, as I mentioned earlier, to repeat,
19	no matter who was in that race, I was going to be
20	supporting a personal friend, Eric Wray. But if
21	he had not been in that race, I would not have
22	supported her based on the people who are backing

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1	them. Principally, Bruce Thompson was an
2	immediate disqualifier for me to support anyone
3	who's being supported by Bruce Thompson. It's a
4	litmus test.
5	Q. Are you aware of any other City Council
6	candidates or members that supported the campaign
7	of Sabrina Wooten for a City Council seat?
8	A. Tell you the truth, I didn't keep track of
9	any of that. No.
10	Q. Are you aware whether the Mayor supported
11	the campaign of Sabrina Wooten?
12	A. I know that she was a student of his at
13	one time, but I don't know that he actively
14	since he was running for Mayor, I think he was
15	trying to trying to make sure he wasn't taking
16	sides. But you can ask him. I don't recall him
17	or seeing a statement where he had actively
18	endorsed her campaign. I don't recall that.
19	Q. Do you know how Aaron Rouse came to run
20	for City Council?
21	A. I do not know how he came to run for City
22	Council. I did meet with him after he decided to

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run for City Council. 1 2 O. I'm sorry? You did meet with him? 3 A. Yes, after he was declared he was going to be -- he was a candidate, I did meet with him. 4 5 Correct. 6 Q. What was that meeting about? 7 A. I think he was trying to pick my brain, in 8 part, which I was more than willing to do, just 9 about races, campaigns in general. He was asking 10 me, you know, what my priorities were. 11 asking what his priorities were. And, you know, 12 he's announced he was just looking to have a level 13 playing field. He also thought that there were 14 voices in the community that weren't being heard 15 on the City Council. You know, he referenced the fact that all 16 17 the time he lived in Seatack or different 18 communities he never saw any Council members in 19 his neighborhood, and he wanted to be on a Council 20 to go out and reach the people who -- I don't want

to say disenfranchised, but who rarely see the

faces of political leaders in their neighborhood,

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and he wanted to give them a voice, and that he was a capitalist, which I love. And I think he brought a fresh view and, I thought, a youthful face on City Council with a necessary voice on top of Jessica's. And I think also being a member of the African American community, I thought that was another way to increase diversity. And that's why I ran with John Perry back in 1986. I supported 10 Eric Wray, who's an African American candidate. 11 I've always thought the Council is always better 12 with diversity. And I've always looked out and 13 looked for competent people that have the right 14 sense of virtue to seek public office. 15 And I didn't make any commitment at that meeting, but later on I did. But it was the first 16 17 meeting we met with his campaign manager -- I 18 can't remember his name -- at a restaurant on 19 Lynnhaven Boulevard -- Parkway -- Lynnhaven Road. 20 I can't recall the name of that either. That's 21 the first time we met. We met other times, too, 22 during the course of the campaign, just general

1	conversation. And we did a joint thing at Mike
2	Standing's parents' home over in Bay Colony.
3	Q. Had you ever heard of Aaron Rouse before
4	he ran for City Council?
5	A. Only as a Tech football player. I'm a
6	fellow Hokie.
7	Q. And we've already discussed that you've
8	supported Aaron Rouse's campaign?
9	A. Correct.
10	Q. Are there any other ways that you
11	supported his campaign, that you can think of,
12	that we haven't already talked about?
13	A. No. I didn't I didn't write him I
14	don't think I wrote him any check, any money. I
15	didn't do that.
16	Q. Are you aware whether the Mayor supported
17	the campaign of Aaron Rouse in any way?
18	A. It would seem logical he would have, but I
19	can't consciously say that I know he did.
20	Q. Are you aware of any other City Council
21	candidates or members that supported the campaign
22	of Aaron Rouse?

1	A. Jessica probably did. I'm pretty certain
2	Jessica did. But after that, I wouldn't venture.
3	I don't recall. I know Jessica did. I just can't
4	recall anybody else.
5	Q. Have any Latino candidates ever been
6	elected to the City Council?
7	A. No.
8	Q. Besides Ron Villanueva, have any Asian
9	candidates ever been elected to the City Council?
10	A. Not to my knowledge.
11	Q. How long have you lived in Virginia Beach?
12	A. 19 maybe even '59 or '60. I came
13	here as a young kid with my dad in the Navy, so it
14	might have been late '59 or early '60s, in that
15	time. Princess Anne County then, when I lived
16	here.
17	Of course, I didn't live here from March
18	15th, 1995 until I moved back in, I think it was,
19	sometime in 2001, I believe it was, 2001.
20	Q. Would you agree that between 1959 or 1960
21	when you first moved here and today the minority
22	population in Virginia Beach has grown?

1	A Demographically that a structure of atomorph
	A. Demographically, that's a true statement.
2	Q. How would you describe the size of the
3	minority population in Virginia Beach?
4	A. If my memory serves me, the African
5	American community is around 20 percent. I think
6	that's about right. I know we have one of the
7	larger second largest Filipino American
8	populations in the United States, a large part due
9	to the Navy. I don't know how big that is. Maybe
10	5 percent. I don't know. I don't know the
11	percentages for that, but I think it's probably in
12	that realm.
13	And, then, probably, after that is
14	probably, I guess you would call it you used
15	the word Latino, I think, probably comes next. I
16	think the Filipino community might be larger than
17	the Asian Pacific Islander community. I know they
18	all fit in that category. But the Filipino
19	community here is quite large. They're probably
20	27 maybe 27 percent of the population as a
21	whole. That's a guess.
22	Q. Would you agree that minorities tend to

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1 live close to each other in Virginia Beach? 2 I would not say that. There's been A. No. 3 several studies, and I can't recount what they 4 were, but I would say that Virginia Beach, if it 5 has any kind of segregation it's economic versus 6 ethnicity or racial. Our neighborhoods are fairly 7 integrated. 8 In fact, the city got recognized as having 9 some of the most integrated neighborhoods in the 10 United States. So I think we have -- in large 11 part due to the large segment of our population 12 that is either state, local, or federal government 13 employed, and therefore has a better than average 14 income, causes our neighborhoods to be much more 15 integrated than what you might otherwise see. So, 16 no, I would not share that conclusion. 17 Q. Which neighborhoods in the city would you 18 classify as predominantly black neighborhoods? 19 A. If you go back to the traditional Doyle 20 Town, Reid Town, those were the communities --

when we were doing the Community Block Program

back in the '70s, those were neighborhoods that

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1 called -- Seatack -- that were called traditional 2 African American communities, which were free 3 landholders going back some period of time. Over time they, too, have become 4 5 integrated because of the attractiveness of the 6 location of the land holdings. Not saying that 7 still they might not be predominantly minorities, 8 but not as much as they were back in the early 9 days of the county only because people sold out or people moved in. They're attractive places to 10 11 live. 12 But Seatack probably is the biggest single 13 concentration of traditionally -- in terms of 14 neighborhoods or communities -- it's still 15 predominantly African American -- that hasn't had 16 substantial redevelopment to other races, for 17 instance. 18 So I don't know that I would say that 19 there are dominant places that are -- where there 20 is a majority. I think there is places where 21 maybe no one is a majority. But I don't know --22 other than mentioning those areas, nothing comes

1	to mind as this is a oh. Take it back. L&J
2	Gardens is a neighborhood.
3	Q. How do you spell that?
4	A. L&J Gardens. It's a subdivision that's
5	Q. How do you spell it?
6	A. L&J, with an and, Gardens. It's between
7	Wesleyan Drive and Baker Road, Northampton.
8	That's the three roads that bound that
9	neighborhood. That neighborhood goes back, way
10	back. That was a traditional neighborhood of
11	professional black businessmen and other kind of
12	professionals, women as well. And John Perry
13	lived in that neighborhood. That since, too,
14	has people have moved in there. So that's not
15	now absolutely but that was a place back in the
16	day, right on the border of Norfolk, where it was
17	predominantly a single-family home, very nice
18	neighborhood of black professionals. That's a
19	small neighborhood. I wouldn't characterize that
20	as a community. It's a neighborhood. But I want
21	to be as accurate as I can.
22	Q. Can you think of any neighborhoods in the

1	city that you would classify as predominantly
2	Latino?
3	A. No.
4	Q. Can you think of any neighborhoods in the
5	city you would classify as predominantly Asian?
6	A. No, for the reasons I specified earlier.
7	Q. Following the 2010 census, the City of
8	Virginia Beach redistricted the city's seven
9	residency districts, correct?
10	A. Correct.
11	Q. You were not on the City Council at that
12	time?
13	A. Correct.
14	Q. Were you involved in any way in the
15	redistricting that took place in Virginia Beach
16	following the 2010 census?
17	A. No.
18	Q. Were you involved in the hiring of any
19	consultants to help with redistricting?
20	A. No.
21	Q. Even though you were not on the City
22	Council, did you have any conversations with

1	anyone regarding the redistricting that was going
2	on?
3	A. Not that I can recall. The people that
4	chaired that, however, was Glenn Davis on the
5	City Council and Louis Jones were the two Council
6	liaisons who headed up that effort. But I was not
7	in communication with them nor anyone else.
8	Q. Do you know who Kimball Brace is?
9	A. Obviously not. No.
10	Q. You never had any conversations with
11	Kimball Brace?
12	A. I don't recognize the name. Maybe if I
13	saw a face it might help, but I don't recognize
14	that name.
15	Q. Do you vote in City Council elections?
16	A. I do.
17	Q. In which residency district in Virginia
18	Beach do you currently live?
19	A. I live in the Bayside district.
20	Q. What City Council member currently
21	represents that district?
22	A. Louis Jones.

1	O Harra way array lived in any athen madidanay
1	Q. Have you ever lived in any other residency
2	district in Virginia Beach?
3	A. Yes.
4	Q. Which ones?
5	A. I lived in the Kempsville borough district
6	when I was elected to the Kempsville borough seat,
7	which no longer exists.
8	Q. Was that 1986?
9	A. Yes. And I lived in the Bayside district
10	as a young adult when I was still living at home
11	going to school.
12	Q. Uh-huh.
13	A. That's the three places I've lived.
14	Q. I think you said Bayside twice, correct?
15	A. Right.
16	Q. Bayside and Kempsville?
17	A. I moved and lived in Thalia, which at that
18	time was the Kempsville borough. It's now the
19	Lynnhaven borough Lynnhaven district. We got
20	away from boroughs. But it was Kempsville at the
21	time I lived there. So I've lived in Bayside,
22	Kempsville, Bayside.

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1 Q. Yep. 2 You have been a vocal supporter to a 3 change to single-member districts in the city for 4 some time, correct? 5 A. Yes. Going back to the '80s. 6 Q. So when was the first time you can 7 remember supporting a change to a single-member 8 district method of election? A. Right after -- probably in the '89-'90 9 10 timeframe because, first of all, we had to get the 11 direct election of the Mayor. That was the first 12 thing we worked on. Then we went from appointed 13 School Boards to elected School Boards. And I was 14 an advocate and, I'd call, maybe even the 15 principal architect of making that happen, but getting all these positions elected, and then 16 17 getting the Mayor as a directly elected versus 18 appointed. And then, of course, there was the 19 Commission. But we were pushing for that before 20 then even. 21 Q. So when you say that the first time you 22 supported a change to a single-member district was

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1 1989 and 1990, what particular thing did you do at 2 that time? 3 A. Talk. You know, it might sound strange, 4 but having a community conversation, trying to 5 build support, make the case. And, of course, in 6 the 1990 election when Balko didn't win, as I 7 talked about earlier, that -- and the people in 8 that community were extremely disappointed that 9 the person they wanted they didn't get, well, then 10 the Mayor, then Mayor Meyera Oberndorf -- she's 11 deceased -- took it on her own, based on that, to 12 do a Mayor's Commission, which I mentioned 13 earlier, which then led to that first referendum. 14 And I wish I could remember the year of that, but 15 it's escaping me. 16 Q. What kinds of things did you do to talk in 17 support of single-member districts? Did you hold 18 town halls? Did you talk about it at City Council 19 meetings? 20 A. I don't recall going -- holding town 21 halls, but anyplace I could get a platform. 22 That's a long time ago. It seems like now

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1 forever. But no, I can't recall any specific 2 things that I did. Q. What else have you done to advocate for a 3 4 change to a single-member district system? 5 A. I can't recall. And the City Clerk could 6 get it, but we did put -- I don't know what 7 legislative packet. We did put in a proposal to 8 have -- you know, to have the Charter changed at 9 referendum. I didn't get the votes of my peers. 10 You'd have to go to the City Clerk to know when 11 that was. It's been since I've been on City 12 Council this time, since 2011. I've introduced it 13 maybe twice. And, of course, you know, at some 14 point when you get no traction, you know, you 15 realize that -- you know, you don't want to be Don 16 Quixote, so you realize that the critical mass is 17 not there. But hopefully, if all the people who 18 campaigned on it stick to their word, maybe we'll 19 be able to put something on the ballot this 20 November. 21 Q. Who campaigned on it? 22 A. Aaron Rouse did. He said he would support

1	it. So did Ms. Wooten. She said she would
2	support it.
3	Q. Jessica Abbott?
4	A. Yep. Well, she has said she would.
5	Bobby Dyer has indicated he could consider
6	it. I'll put him on the maybe column. Of course,
7	there is myself. And I think that's pretty close.
8	I think that I think we can get something
9	there. We've just got to work that coalition.
10	But it's not because we're trying to cure an ill.
11	We're trying to make it take money out of the
12	equation so the races it's more open to every
13	day citizens to run. It's all about reducing the
14	influence of money to run an effective campaign.
15	And people want to have their own they
16	have their own General Assembly district. They
17	have their own Congressman. They want their own
18	Council member that they can hold accountable.
19	And they feel the at-large system precludes them
20	from holding their district Council member
21	accountable. You hear that a lot from voters who
22	come to town halls and whatnot.

1	Q. Do a lot of voters tell you that they want
2	to change to single-member districts?
3	A. A lot I will say the people who show up
4	at town halls or these community meetings, yes,
5	but that's still anecdotal. I can't make the leap
6	and say it's a large number because that's a
7	statistical judgment. I can just say
8	anecdotally, I would say that the people the
9	majority of events I go to, that people think at
10	least they should have a chance to choose. Even
11	if they don't want to change it, they do agree
12	that people have a right the vote to choose if
13	they want to change it.
14	Q. So of the members of the current City
15	Council, you told me that Aaron Rouse, Sabrina
16	Wooten, Jessica Abbott, and yourself support a
17	change to single-member districts, and, then,
18	perhaps Mayor Bob Dyer does. So if we count that
19	up, that's five
20	A. A little short.
21	Q of 11?
22	A. A little short.

1	Q. So would you say that the majority of the
2	current City Council favors retaining the at-large
3	system?
4	A. No.
5	Q. Why?
6	A. I would just say the majority some are
7	in favor, that's clear. There are some who do not
8	want to change. They made that clear. And I
9	respect that.
10	Q. Who?
11	A. Barbara Henley is one. She's probably the
12	biggest advocate of retaining the current system.
13	Q. What about Rosemary Wilson?
14	A. I think she is, as well. The others, I
15	think sometimes we say good politicians have
16	not made a public position except they didn't
17	support my legislative packet change.
18	MR. BOYNTON: And I do want to be clear
19	that you're testifying as to public positions and
20	not as to legislative secret conversations?
21	A. Correct. This is just all derived from my
22	public assessment of there is no executive

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1 session or anything. This is all my personal 2 opinion. 3 Thank you. 4 Q. So between 1989 and today, besides talking 5 in support of a change to single-member districts 6 and putting forward proposals on the agenda to 7 change to single-member districts, can you think 8 of anything else you've done to support --9 A. I've spoken with selective members of the 10 legislature in the General Assembly that, you 11 know -- that I'm in support of it. Not 12 surprisingly -- and I would say the same thing. 13 They said, well, if that's what the Council 14 majority or the public says they want, then, you 15 know, we'll support it. I wasn't asking them to 16 do otherwise. I was just letting them know what 17 my position was. And I would say they are 18 apolitical on the question, rightfully so. 19 O. Uh-huh. 20 A. It's up to the people to decide. 21 you're asking me have I spoken with people, I have 22 just to let them know I'm out there working the

1	system, so to speak, to get you know, to get
2	this on a referendum as something that I think
3	deserves to be out there for the public to choose.
4	Q. Who in the General Assembly?
5	A. I've spoken with Delegate Knight.
6	Q. Can you spell that?
7	A. K-N-I-G-H-T, like in the Knights of the
8	Roundtable.
9	Q. Uh-huh.
10	A. And Senator Bill DeSteph. That's D-E,
11	then a capital S, T-E-P-H. And I'm trying to
12	think of who else I might have spoken with.
13	Delegate Fowler, one conversation. But
14	principally it's been and Jason Miyares. He's
15	a Delegate.
16	Q. Can you spell that?
17	A. Help me here.
18	MR. BOYNTON: M-I-Y-A-R-E-S.
19	A. Thank you very much.
20	Q. Thank you.
21	Do you say the same general things?
22	A. Yeah. I'm just giving them heads up, hey,

1	I'm working this. And I expect for them to say,
2	hey, well, if you can build a majority on Council,
3	if the public says this is what they want they
4	will support it, but, rightfully so, they're not
5	going to inject or impose their will on the
6	public. I just want to let them know it's
7	something that we're working. Just a friendly
8	conversation.
9	Q. So you'd agree that you've been advocating
10	for a change to single-member districts since
11	about 1989?
12	A. Yes.
13	Q. Yet, the city still utilizes an at-large
14	method of election for City Council, correct?
15	A. Correct.
16	Q. Would you agree that minority groups in
17	Virginia Beach have expressed support for a change
18	to a single-member district system?
19	A. I can say that minorities have. But to
20	say that minorities as a collective have, I can't
21	say that I have proof of that. When someone comes
22	up, I'm speaking for the somebody's community, and

1	they're just saying that, well, what proof do they
2	have? You know, they don't provide you any
3	statistical polling. They don't have some
4	resolution from some group adopted.
5	So I do believe there are minorities that
6	have come and told us that the system would work,
7	but I don't know what the minority community
8	that's defined demographically thinks.
9	Q. When you say that there are minorities
10	that have come and told you they support a change
11	to a single-member district system, what do you
12	mean?
13	A. Well, they came before City Council.
14	There is Andrew Jackson has come and spoken to
15	the City Council directly. The gentleman who
16	gosh. He just left Cox Cable not too long ago.
17	He ran for the state Senate against Wagner. I can
18	see his face. A tall, thin gentleman. I can't
19	think of his name. I'm terrible about names; good
20	about faces. He came and spoke. Some people came
21	out and spoke and said exactly what they wanted.
22	And specifically, they said they wanted the 10

1	district system. And they spoke at City Council
2	and expressed that.
3	I haven't heard anyone come forward from
4	the Filipino community and say that. I haven't
5	heard anyone who declared that they were the
6	Latino community and say that. And I haven't
7	heard someone say I'm the Asian Pacific Islander
8	community and that's what I said. So I don't know
9	what the community that would be considered
10	demographic minority speaking as a group thinks.
11	But I do know people have come up to us and say
12	from their people and saying I represent this
13	group, the NAACP, or the African American
14	Coalition Group. But I don't know that they
15	necessarily represent the body demographically
16	that would be considered a minority group.
17	That's I'm not trying to parse words. I just
18	can't say what the minorities think because we
19	have very integrated neighborhoods.
20	Q. I'm not asking you to
21	MR. BOYNTON: I think she's got it on that
22	one. Next question.

1	Q. Were you around for the 2001
2	redistricting?
3	A. Was I here? Yes. 1995 no. I was not.
4	I had to go back and pop in the dates. No.
5	Q. Is improving the diversity among the City
6	Council members in Virginia Beach a reason why
7	you'd support a change to a single-member district
8	system?
9	A. That was not the reason.
10	Q. Is it a reason?
11	A. It is an outcome possibly, but that was
12	not my reason.
13	Q. Is it a possible outcome that you would
14	support?
15	A. I support always the choice of the voters.
16	It's the voters' choice, not mine.
17	Q. Is providing minority voters an
18	opportunity to elect candidates of their choice a
19	reason why you support a change to a single-member
20	district system?
21	A. I support increasing the competition of
22	any group, majority or minority, to effectively be

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1 able to run for Council. 2 Q. Besides what we've already discussed 3 today, any other reasons why you support a change 4 to a single-member district system? 5 A. No. I think I've expressed that pretty 6 clearly. 7 Q. Besides what we've already talked about 8 today, do you think the current at-large method of 9 election is unfair in any way? 10 A. Personally, yes. I think it 11 disenfranchises the people's ability to run for 12 office and be a competitive candidate, and it 13 denies the public a better spectrum of choices of 14 whom they can elect. 15 Q. Why? A. Because I had mentioned earlier, to run 16 17 at-large across the whole city requires tremendous 18 financial resources, for the most part, to be 19 effective, and, therefore, it -- the need for 20 money reduces the competitive -- reduces

Q. Does the city's at-large election system

competition and reduces choice to the voters.

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1	reduce voter turnout?
2	A. There is no evidence of that, that I'm
3	aware of.
4	Q. Does the city's at-large election system
5	reduce voter turnout among minority voters?
6	A. I am not in possession of any information
7	that would suggest that.
8	MS. HARLESS: Let's mark Exhibit 2.
9	(Exhibit 2 was marked and
10	attached to the transcript.)
11	Q. Mr. Moss, the court reporter has just
12	handed you what was marked as Exhibit 2. Have you
13	seen this document before?
14	A. I'm sure I've read this newspaper article
15	before. I don't recall specifically, you know,
16	when I read it, but I'm a pretty good reader of
17	the newspaper.
18	Q. And this article is dated October 2nd,
19	2018, correct?
20	A. October 2nd, 2018. That is correct.
21	Q. And the title of the article is 2 Virginia
22	Beach Council members want to change the city's

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1 election system, correct? 2 A. Right. 3 O. You were one of the two Council members 4 who wanted to change the city's election system, 5 correct? 6 A. Correct. 7 Q. I'd like you to turn to page 4 of this 8 article. The paragraph at the very top of the 9 page says, "Six years ago Moss and state Senator 10 Bill DeSteph, a former Councilman, made a similar 11 effort to end at-large voting districts but 12 couldn't persuade most Council members to get on 13 board." 14 A. Yep. I told you I put something forth a 15 couple of times. 16 Q. What, specifically, is this referring to 17 that you and Senator Bill DeSteph made an effort? 18 A. Bill DeSteph had been on City Council at 19 one time. You may not know -- I believe we -- as 20 a matter of fact, remember the times I told you in 21 our legislative package we made a proposal to make 22 a change? I think this is one of those events.

couldn't remember all of them. But we did, and we
weren't successful. He was a former Council
member.
Q. Uh-huh.
A. That's when we did that. We were not
successful in doing so. That is correct.
Q. And you don't remember what year that was?
A. No. That would have been after 2011 when
I got back on City Council. But I can't tell you
if it was 2012 it would have to be '12 or later
because I took office in November of 2011 in a
special election. And our legislative package
would have been completed. So unless I tried to
push something before Christmas, which we could
have, it was 2012.
MR. BOYNTON: Again, a lot of words. I
think you think out loud. And she's having to
transcribe all of it, so
Q. Just slow down. It's okay. Just slow it
down.
If we go two paragraphs below that one on
this Exhibit 2, there is a quote from you. Do you

1	see that?
2	A. I do.
3	Q. Could you read that into the record,
4	please?
5	A. "It creates a scale that enables
6	grassroots campaigning and fosters competition, he
7	said. The city's geography of 250-plus square
8	miles disproportionately empowers monied special
9	interests' influence on the voters' choices and
10	election outcomes."
11	Q. When it says "It creates a scale that
12	enables grassroots campaigning and fosters
13	competition", you're referring to single-member
14	districts?
15	A. Correct.
16	Q. You'd still agree with this statement,
17	correct?
18	A. Absolutely. And I believe I have restated
19	this in my deposition.
20	Q. Uh-huh.
21	Would you agree that the city's current
22	at-large system makes it difficult for minority

1	voters to elect candidates they prefer to the City
2	Council?
3	A. I think it makes it difficult for any
4	voters to get a better choice. I don't know that
5	I would concur with the statement that you made.
6	Q. All right. You can put that one to the
7	side.
8	MR. BOYNTON: She gets the sticker ones
9	back.
10	A. This is not a sticker one.
11	MR. BOYNTON: It is at the bottom.
12	MS. HARLESS: We're going to mark this as
13	Exhibit 3. And it's very big. So there are tabs
14	on the pages you'll need to turn to.
15	(Exhibit 3 was marked and
16	attached to the transcript.)
17	MR. BOYNTON: Going to the first tab?
18	Q. I have just handed you what's been marked
19	as Exhibit 3 by the court reporter. I'm going to
20	represent to you this is a subpoena that was sent
21	to Council Member Jessica Abbott by the plaintiffs

1	you. And the documents attached here were
2	produced by Council Member Abbott in response to
3	that subpoena. Does that make sense?
4	A. That's what it says, yes.
5	Q. So I'd like you to turn to the first tab,
6	tabbed page, in this document, which is page 26 of
7	the document.
8	MR. BOYNTON: The pages aren't numbered.
9	So let the record reflect we are referring to a
10	September 28, 2018 letter from David L. Hansen to
11	Honorable Louis R. Jones, Mayor, and members of
12	Council.
13	MS. HARLESS: And we were just going to
14	get into that.
15	MR. BOYNTON: Sorry.
16	MS. HARLESS: Unfortunately, when Council
17	Member Abbott produced this there were no page
18	numbers, so I tried to tab it to be helpful.
19	MR. BOYNTON: I was just trying to keep it
20	straight.
21	Q. Have you seen this document before?
22	A. Yes. I would have seen this at the time,

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1 correct. 2 Q. And you'd agree that it is just what your 3 counsel stated on the record? 4 A. Yes. 5 Q. Generally, what is a General Assembly 6 session legislative agenda? 7 A. Annually the Council, through a public 8 participation process, puts forth a set of 9 proposals that we would like the General Assembly 10 to consider and pass that would benefit the City 11 of Virginia Beach and its residents. And it's 12 adopted subsequent to a public hearing and by a 13 majority vote. But prior to that, obviously, 14 individual Council members can put things in here, 15 but that's because it's proposed. They don't 16 necessarily make the final vote. They're not 17 included in the actual package that goes to the 18 General Assembly. 19 Q. So I'd like you to look at the first 20 sentence of the letter from Mr. Hansen. And in 21 that he -- Mr. Hansen wrote that this was a draft 22 of the 2019 General Assembly Session Legislative

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1 Agenda, correct? 2 A. Correct. That would be the process. 3 Q. Do you remember if the Council actually 4 voted on the Legislative Agenda on October 2nd, 5 2018? 6 A. We did have a vote on that day. I assume 7 that's the day we voted. I can't remember if we 8 deferred it or not. It would be in the month of 9 October that we normally would adopt it. I cannot 10 recall -- sometimes we do deferrals. And it might 11 have been adopted later. But I do recall that we 12 did adopt a legislative package in October. I 13 don't know that we actually did it on the 2nd. 14 Q. Okay. And I'd like you to look at the 15 second proposed agenda item. And this is an 16 agenda item proposed by you and Council Member 17 Abbott to have an amendment to the City Charter to 18 change the seven residency districts to seven 19 single-member districts, correct? 20 A. Correct. 21 Q. Was the amendment to change to seven 22 single-member districts added to the 2019 General

Assembly Session Legislative Agenda that was ultimately passed by the City Council?

- A. It was not adopted by a majority of the City Council.
 - Q. Why not?

- A. Well, I can't speak for whether people who voted no or not to include it, but they judged it to be not in the best interest of the city is all I can judge -- convey. But I don't know their specific reasons.
- Q. Since asking to place this item on the 2019 General Assembly Legislative Agenda, have you done anything else to follow up on this request?
- A. We've -- if I remember right, we did talk about it at the February retreat. It was a topic of discussion. But no direction was provided or guidance, but it was a topic of discussion. But I can't say that I've done anything -- we did not put forth a proposal in the legislative package this year to do this because no one sponsored something to go forward, and so it's not a part of this year's package thus far.

1	Q. When you say you talked about the
2	single-member district issue at the February
3	retreat, what do you mean?
4	A. Talking about the need to change the
5	manner in which Council should be elected. It's
6	come up in a couple of formal sessions. I can't
7	tell you which ones because I don't remember.
8	There have always been people representing their
9	views.
10	We talked about having a referendum in
11	2020 and at one of those meetings. And some
12	people expressed, well, if they're going to do
13	that we have to have this, you know, huge
14	education campaign so people know what they're
15	going to do. But that's the extent of it. Once
16	again, no direction, no consensus; just dialogue.
17	Q. Can you remember anything else that was
18	said about it?
19	A. No.
20	MR. BOYNTON: Public sessions you're
21	referring to?
22	A. Yeah. These are all public sessions.

1	Workshop sessions are informal sessions, nothing
2	closed. These are just if you went back and
3	looked at the proceedings on video, you can see
4	MR. BOYNTON: The reason I'm asking for a
5	clarification is because to the extent they were
6	private conversations that would implicate
7	legislative privilege.
8	A. Okay.
9	Q. So
10	A. These are public, in a big public setting
11	where the public could be present.
12	Q. That's
13	MR. BOYNTON: I'm not trying to
14	MS. HARLESS: No. No.
15	Q. Is the retreat considered public?
16	A. It is public. The citizens come to it.
17	It's not televised. And it wasn't recorded.
18	There is not transcripts maintained of it. But
19	the public can attend.
20	Q. Is there anything else you remember from
21	the retreat?
22	A. No.

1	Q. Okay.
2	A. I'm just trying to be as complete as I
3	can.
4	Q. Was there a public hearing about the
5	proposed items for the 2019 Legislative Session
6	Agenda?
7	A. Yes. There is a public hearing.
8	Q. Were you at that public hearing?
9	A. I was.
10	Q. Do you remember if it was only in October
11	2018?
12	A. It was. I just can't recall we would
13	have held a hearing independent of whether or not
14	we voted. I just can't recall if we deferred it
15	or did something. That's why I say I don't know
16	that we voted on the 2nd. But if that was the
17	date for the public hearing, we would have had the
18	public hearing on the adoption date, I think. The
19	City Clerk can confirm that.
20	Q. Okay. Are there usually transcripts of
21	public hearings?
22	A. You have to ask the City Clerk. I know

1	they keep minutes, but I think unless it's
2	transcripts expressly requested, I don't know that
3	they keep a word-for-word transcript. The City
4	Clerk would have to answer that question.
5	Q. Was the proposed amendment to change to
6	seven single-member districts discussed at the
7	public hearing?
8	A. I can't recall what the speakers said. I
9	can't recall.
10	Q. Have you personally taken any action on
11	the proposed agenda item of a change to
12	single-member districts since the Council voted on
13	the 2019 Legislative Agenda?
14	A. Other than just general discussions, which
15	I referenced earlier I participated in, I have not
16	been out actively in the community advancing this
17	as an issue. I've been consumed with addressing
18	the flooding problem.
19	Q. So you've been focusing on other issues?
20	A. Correct.
21	Q. Would that be fair?
22	A. Correct.

1	Q. Why did you propose to make seven of the
2	seats single-member districts but keep three
3	at-large?
4	A. Well, four at-large
5	Q. Four at-large?
6	A including the Mayor. As I mentioned
7	earlier, I believe there is an all district
8	systems tend to not unlike the House of
9	Representatives, they tend to promote more vote
10	trading which, generally, has the impact of
11	increasing the size and the expense of government
12	because everybody is trying to get something in
13	their district, you know, to take back the bacon
14	so to speak. So there is that aspect. So they
15	tend to be have a trend to spend more.
16	In order to then there is a balance
17	that that's, like, the Senate people looking at
18	the broader interest of the city and looking at
19	larger fiscal issues and understand the bigger
20	consequences. So that's one of the reasons why I
21	think that having a hybrid system is better.
22	Secondly, district people tend to get

1	recognized for advancing their district interest
2	because now they're exclusively accountable just
3	to that district, just like the Congressmen are.
4	But there are issues that are bigger for the
5	bigger at-large city that need advocacy, as well,
6	not unlike the U.S. Senate, someone who's speaking
7	for the state as a whole. And the at-large system
8	provides that voice also to be heard. And you
9	need the competition between the larger macro as
10	the city and the more parochial issues of
11	districts. That's, also, a type of competition.
12	And competition always, generally, benefits the
13	public.
14	So while single districts promotes
15	competition in a different way, you need to
16	balance that out so at the end, like a balanced
17	portfolio, you get the optimal decision-making and
18	ultimately the best public interest calculus comes
19	out.
20	Q. This proposal would have called for the
21	seven single-member districts to be in place for
22	the next round of redistricting, correct?

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1 A. Correct. 2 Q. All right. I'd like you to turn to page 3 29 of this document, which I will represent to you 4 is the second tab. This is a document that was 5 produced by Council Member Jessica Abbott. It 6 starts with two paragraphs of bolded text at the 7 top and is a written summary by Council Member 8 Abbott of her top priorities for the 2019 Council 9 retreat. Would you like a second to read through? 10 A. I've read that second paragraph. 11 Q. The whole document. 12 A. The whole document? 13 MR. BOYNTON: She has many, many pages here of that. 14 15 Is there a part you'd like him to focus 16 on? 17 Q. I'd like you to read -- I want you to 18 focus on the next page, the very bottom of the next page. That, also, goes on to page 31. I'm 19 20 looking at the very bottom down there. It's a 21 paragraph that starts, "I favor a district voting 22 approach..." Do you see that?

1	A. I do.
2	MR. BOYNTON: So review that.
3	A. Okay.
4	Q. So in that first part Ms. Abbott writes
5	that she favors a district voting approach and the
6	redistricting of 10 voting districts through the
7	City of Virginia Beach to singularly elect their
8	district representative and the Mayor to be
9	elected at large.
10	Would you also support a proposal of 10
11	single-member districts?
12	A. As I stated earlier in my deposition, I
13	would favor both questions being asking, asking
14	the public do they choose to have a hybrid system
15	or would they prefer to go to 10 district systems.
16	And I would accept the judgment of the public.
17	But I would be an advocate for the hybrid system.
18	But ultimately it's a choice of the public to
19	make, and I would respect that choice.
20	Q. Would you oppose if the public
21	supported a 10 single-member district system,
22	would you oppose it?

1	A. As I just stated, if the public in a
2	referendum votes in the majority that this is the
3	system they want, I'm a voice of the public, not
4	my own voice, and I would be a strong advocate for
5	the voters' choice.
6	Q. All right. In the next sentence
7	Ms. Abbott writes, "District elections give
8	geographically concentrated groups of voters a
9	better chance of being represented."
10	Do you see that?
11	A. Yes, I do.
12	Q. Would you agree with that statement?
13	A. I would rephrase that to say that it gives
14	the people who live in that district a better
15	ability to hold them accountable. That's not the
16	same thing as they will be more responsive, but
17	they can hold them accountable.
18	Q. So the sentence says, "District elections
19	give geographically concentrated groups of voters
20	a better chance of being represented."
21	A. I think
22	Q. It doesn't say anything about

1	MR. BOYNTON: You said "therefore being
2	more responsive."
3	MS. HARLESS: No. No. You're looking at
4	a different sentence.
5	MR. BOYNTON: I'm sorry.
6	Q. I'm looking at the very next sentence
7	following the one we just discussed. It's on the
8	bottom of the page.
9	A. "Being represented." I would concur with
10	that. I'm sorry. I thought you said in
11	responsive.
12	Q. So just for the record, just to get the
13	record straight, the sentence says, "District
14	elections give geographically concentrated groups
15	of voters a better chance of being represented."
16	A. That is correct.
17	Q. And you'd agree with that?
18	A. I would.
19	Q. Okay. Now, let's turn to the next page.
20	And I'm looking two sentences down that starts "I
21	believe that incumbents" Do you see that?
22	A. I do.

1	Q. Ms. Abbott states, "I believe that
2	incumbents would find themselves to be less
3	insulated from the competition of challengers
4	because it is easier and less costly to run a
5	grassroots campaign in a district consisting of
6	roughly 30,000 neighbors rather than 300,000
7	voters in the largest city of Virginia." Would
8	you agree with that?
9	A. I think that's a truism. Yes.
10	Q. Now, further down in the paragraph in the
11	sentence that starts most U.S "Most large U.S.
12	cities" Do you see that?
13	A. Uh-huh.
14	Q. Ms. Abbott writes, "Most large U.S. cities
15	with populations over 200,000 people use district
16	voting, and our outdated hybrid system should be
17	modernized to reflect the current needs of our
18	city and its citizens." Do you agree with that
19	statement?
20	A. I don't know that to be factually true.
21	There is no footnote. Relative to most large
22	cities, I don't know what the universe of large

1	cities is. And I don't know if that's 10 large
2	cities, 50, that "most" defines. So I can't
3	concur with the accuracy because it's not
4	footnoted as to the source of it.
5	Q. Okay.
6	A. And furthermore
7	MR. BOYNTON: Continue if you want.
8	That's fine. I just
9	Q. Would you agree that the city's current
10	hybrid system is outdated?
11	A. If you say the current system is outdated,
12	but you cannot extrapolate that to mean that if
13	you went to seven district systems it would be
14	outdated. So if you said the current system, the
15	answer would be yes.
16	Q. So all I'm asking is would you agree that
17	the city's current hybrid system is outdated?
18	A. All at-large voting, correct.
19	Q. Do you think the city's current hybrid
20	system is unusual in any way?
21	A. Oh, it's extremely unusual.
22	Q. Why?

Transcript of John D. Moss Conducted on September 13, 2019

A. Well, if I remember correctly, it had to be validated by a Supreme Court decision, if I remember correctly, when it was first put together of the borough district systems. And it's kind of unusual in that regard. It's very unique. But it goes back. If you look at the history of the city at the time, it's certainly self-explanatory as to why we had that system to start with. But I don't know you want to go into a history lesson here, but, if you do, I'm happy to share it.

- Q. I'm more interested in why you think the system is unusual.
- A. Well, it's unusual because it represents what was necessary at the time of the merger of the City of Virginia Beach with the County of Princess Anne, to get something that both the agricultural lawyers and the city could live with and accept to create the merger. So it's in the context of its conception that makes it unusual. And without that understanding, you wouldn't know how it ever got to be. But it is the uniqueness of how the little resort strip and the county came

1	to be one big city that makes it unique. And
2	those circumstances haven't been replicated
3	elsewhere. And so that's why it's an unusual
4	situation.
5	Q. Do you know of any other cities that have
6	a system similar to Virginia Beach's?
7	A. I do not.
8	Q. All right. I'd like you to turn to page
9	71 of this, which I will represent is the third
10	tabbed page here.
11	MR. BOYNTON: And just, may I just put
12	some context.
13	MS. HARLESS: I am about to.
14	MR. BOYNTON: Thanks.
15	Q. It's actually that page, the page with the
16	tab on. He was looking at it. You were looking
17	at the other page.
18	I'm directing you to the very bottom of
19	the page where there is bolded text. And it says
20	"December 9th, 2017 - Data from Contested District
21	Seat Elections in Virginia Beach and Norfolk Since
22	2008." Do you see that?

1	A. Uh-huh. I do.
2	Q. If you turn the page, this continues. And
3	there is an image and a link to a Facebook post by
4	Jessica Abbott. Do you see that?
5	A. I do.
6	Q. Underneath the link the text states, "Last
7	week, a lawsuit was filed against the City of
8	Virginia Beach regarding violations of the Voting
9	Rights Act. The lawsuit makes the argument that
10	the city dilutes minority voting strength on the
11	Virginia Beach City Council from an at-large
12	voting system." Do you see that one?
13	A. Uh-huh.
14	Q. And one paragraph below Ms. Abbott writes,
15	"I support much of what this lawsuit seeks to
16	accomplish."
17	Do you also support much of what the
18	plaintiffs' lawsuit in this case seeks to
19	accomplish?
20	A. No.
21	Q. Why?
22	A. Because I think this choice belongs to the

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voters to decide in a referendum and shouldn't be 1 2 adjudicated in a court of law. 3 Q. And the next paragraph Ms. Abbott states 4 that "The only requirement to serve in a district 5 seat is residency. It is entirely possible for a 6 candidate to lose their own district but win 7 elsewhere in the city and still get elected." 8 A. Yes. 9 O. I know we've discussed this earlier. 10 would agree with that statement, correct? 11 A. Correct. It's happened -- in 2018 it also 12 happened. Louis Jones lost his district but won 13 citywide. David Nygaard ultimately disqualified, 14 lost -- won his district. And John Uhrin, who was 15 the incumbent, won his district but lost citywide. 16 So you had both situations take place. And that 17 was in the most recent Council election. 18 Q. That also happened to Al Balko? 19 A. Yes. And that was back in 1990.

Q. Jessica Abbott endorsed your campaign for

Q. Can you think of any other examples?

A. Those are the only ones I can recall.

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1 City Council? 2 A. Correct. 3 Q. Besides what we've discussed already 4 today, have you had any conversations with any 5 current City Council members about changing to a 6 district-based, rather than at-large, election 7 system for City Council seats? 8 A. I am certain at times and dates that I 9 cannot specify that Jessica and I have had 10 conversations. And I might have had some with 11 This is -- you know, it could have come up 12 at a social event, anywhere. It's just not in 13 a -- in a casual sense, not like, oh, let's have a 14 meeting and sit down and talk about this. In the 15 course of other conversations it could come up, 16 but I couldn't tell you when or what places. 17 MR. BOYNTON: Again, because we're getting 18 into the more private nature of conversations, 19 identify who you're talking with but don't get 20 into the content of the conversation. 21 A. It would be most likely Jessica, and 22 probably Aaron. Probably not the others.

1	Q. Were any of those conversations outside of
2	the context of closed City Council meetings?
3	A. Oh. Well, yes.
4	Q. Do you remember any of them specifically?
5	A. Well, this gets back to the one-on-one
6	conversations. I'm not qualified
7	MR. BOYNTON: You can say the context of
8	the conversation. But our position is they're
9	private conversations. They don't have to be
10	physically in the halls of government to be
11	protected by legislative privilege. You can
12	answer the question as to who you had the
13	conversations with and where they were.
14	A. I'm sure the context was about do you
15	think we can get the votes to have a referendum in
16	2020. I'm sure they're in that nature.
17	MR. BOYNTON: Again, you're asking content
18	as opposed to
19	A. All I can say, the general nature was
20	about that issue.
21	Q. Are you following your counsel's
22	instructions and you're not waiving the

1	legislative privilege?
2	A. I'm not waiving legislative privilege, no.
3	Q. Besides what we've already discussed
4	today, have you had any conversations with any
5	former City Council members about changing to a
6	district-based
7	A. No.
8	Q rather than at-large system?
9	A. No.
10	Q. Besides what we've already discussed
11	today, have you had any conversations with the
12	current Mayor of Virginia Beach about changing to
13	a district-based, rather than at-large, election
14	system?
15	A. Nothing that wouldn't be covered by
16	legislative privilege, no.
17	Q. Besides what we've already discussed
18	today, have you had any conversations with any
19	former Mayor of Virginia Beach about changing to a
20	district-based election system?
21	A. No.
22	Q. Why do you laugh?

1	A. Just Mayor Sessoms and I had very few
2	conversations.
3	Q. Besides what we've discussed already
4	today, have you had any conversations with anyone
5	else about changing to a district-based, rather
6	than at-large, election system for City Council
7	seats?
8	A. Not that I can recall. It's not a hot
9	topic.
10	Q. Have you done any interviews with
11	reporters before about it?
12	A. Obviously, I did those interviews
13	(indicating). But we've talked about it. If I
14	did, they would be reported. You're asking me can
15	I recall them. No. I get asked lots of
16	questions, but I can't recall. I'm not trying to
17	be evasive. I just can't remember.
18	Q. Do you ever talk to constituents about it?
19	A. If they ask. It's not something that
20	would stick in my brain and say, oh, on this day I
21	spoke with so and so. But if someone asks me
22	about it, would I be responsive? Yes. But do I

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have a recollection of those? No. But I do tell them the position which I've shared here.

O. Uh-huh.

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And just to be clear, there have been two referendums in the city's past on the change to a single-member district system?

- A. One took place when I was not here, so I don't have the -- that's what -- the outcome. One was yes and one was no. You'd have to go back to the City Clerk to get those results.
- Q. What was the referendum that took place when you weren't there?
 - A. That would be the one that was no.
- Q. Which year?
 - A. You're going to have to go to the City

 Clerk and ask. I just don't recall. But I know

 there was a second one. And it's often mentioned

 by the other side when it comes up.
 - Q. What do you mean, mentioned by the other side?
 - A. People talk about, hey, people said they wanted it. And, then, people on the other side

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1	who don't support it say, oh, yes, but remember we
2	had another referendum and the people said they
3	wanted to keep the current system. So there are
4	two different answers at two different points in
5	time. In the end, it's the public's choice,
6	right?
7	Q. All right.
8	MS. HARLESS: We're going to mark another
9	exhibit. I believe this is Exhibit 4.
10	(Exhibit 4 was marked and
11	attached to the transcript.)
12	Q. Mr. Moss, you've just been handed what was
13	marked Exhibit 4 by the court reporter. Similar
14	to the document we just looked at or the set of
15	documents we just looked at, I'm going to
16	represent to you that this is a subpoena that was
17	sent to Council Member Jim Wood by the plaintiffs
18	in I guess is he a Council member or Vice Mayor
19	or both?
20	A. Vice Mayor.
21	MR. BOYNTON: Presently Vice Mayor.
22	Q. I'll represent to you this is a subpoena

1	that was sent to Vice Mayor Jim Wood by the
2	plaintiffs in this case, similar to the one that
3	was sent to you. And the documents attached here
4	were produced by Vice Mayor Wood in response to
5	that subpoena.
6	And I'd like you to turn to page 10 of
7	this document. And at the top this document has
8	James Wood's official city letterhead. And it's
9	dated June 25th, 2019. Do you see that?
10	A. Uh-huh.
11	Q. And the subject line says response to
12	subpoena, correct?
13	A. Uh-huh. That's what it says.
14	MR. BOYNTON: Yes or no?
15	A. Yes.
16	Q. So I'd like you to turn to page 3. There
17	is numbered pages at the top of this document.
18	And I want you to look at the numbered category
19	15. This document production request reads,
20	"Provide any and all documents, communications,
21	and things related to allegations of racial
22	appeals or racist incidents in political campaigns

1	in Virginia Beach from January 1st, 2000 to the
2	present."
3	Mr. Wood's response says, "See Attachment
4	A." Correct?
5	A. It does say "See Attachment A."
6	Q. Turn three pages in this document. Do you
7	see Attachment A?
8	A. Uh-huh.
9	MR. BOYNTON: Well, read the Attachment A
10	part before you get to the document.
11	Q. The text on the page says, "Screenshot of
12	a text message where a candidate reported to me
13	that poll workers for another candidate were
14	handing out different color handouts depending
15	upon the race of the person they encountered at
16	the polling place."
17	A. I do read that.
18	Q. Do you see that?
19	A. I do.
20	Q. Were the poll workers referenced there
21	working for your campaign?
22	A. Which poll workers?

1	MR. BOYNTON: Let him review the document
2	first before
3	A. Is there names?
4	Q. I'm talking about the comment here
5	(indicating).
6	MR. BOYNTON: How would he know?
7	A. How would I know poll workers? I don't
8	know who that is.
9	Q. You can answer the question.
10	MR. BOYNTON: I think it requires him to
11	look at the document that is the Attachment A.
12	And I object to the question until he has reviewed
13	the document.
14	MS. HARLESS: He's welcome to look at any
15	pages of this document and answer the question.
15 16	pages of this document and answer the question. No one has told him he can't.
16	No one has told him he can't.
16 17	No one has told him he can't. MR. BOYNTON: Why don't you review the
16 17 18	No one has told him he can't. MR. BOYNTON: Why don't you review the actual Attachment A before you answer the
16171819	No one has told him he can't. MR. BOYNTON: Why don't you review the actual Attachment A before you answer the question?

1	Q. So I didn't write this. Jim Wood wrote
2	this.
3	A. Okay. Well, I can't answer the question
4	because I don't know who the poll workers are and
5	I don't know who another candidate is. Without
6	specificity, I cannot answer that ambiguous
7	question ambiguous statement.
8	Q. Let's look at the next page.
9	A. Next page being?
10	Q. The next page of the document. This has
11	two columns of text messages with images of the
12	colored ballots that were being handed out in
13	2018, according to the prior page. There are two
14	columns of text messages on this page. Do you
15	seat that?
16	A. I can't discern them, but I can tell that
17	they're
18	Q. No. No. The text messages themselves.
19	There is two. There is a left column and a right
20	column of text messages, correct?
21	A. I'm reading this. Correct.
22	MR. BOYNTON: I think she's just asking

1	you if you turn it on the side are there two
2	separate columns? Turn it. Landscape mode.
3	There you go. Two columns. One column. Two
4	columns.
5	A. Yes. There are two columns. Sorry.
6	Q. I'm just trying to orient you because I'm
7	going to ask you to look at the right text
8	message, so the top of the right column. Do you
9	see the name Dee?
10	A. Right here (indicating)? Is that what
11	you're referring to?
12	Dee. Okay. Yes. I see that.
13	Q. Dee Oliver was the candidate running for
14	an at-large seat in 2018, correct?
15	A. She was.
16	Q. And you only
17	A. Yes.
18	Q. And you only beat her by a small number of
19	votes, right?
20	A. I won by a small number of votes, yes.
21	Q. And, in fact, there was a recount,
22	correct?

1	A. Correct.
2	Q. And so do you understand this page,
3	along with the prior page, Attachment A, do you
4	understand these to be text messages from Dee
5	Oliver to Jim Wood?
6	MR. BOYNTON: Objection. Lack of
7	foundation.
8	A. I do not know that.
9	Q. Do you question whether Attachment A was
10	produced by Jim Wood?
11	A. Attachment A? This being Attachment A?
12	That says that statement is his statement,
13	correct?
14	Q. Correct.
15	A. His statement does not contain the word
16	Dee Oliver, so if I can take that as correct
17	Q. His statement says, "Screenshot of a text
18	message where a candidate reported to me that poll
19	workers for another candidate" and the
20	candidate you see the name Dee Oliver at the
21	top?
22	MR. BOYNTON: Respectfully, the only thing

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1 at the top is Dee. 2 A. There is no Oliver. 3 Q. You see the name Dee at the top? A. Correct. I do see Dee at the top. 4 5 Q. Do you believe that to be Dee Oliver? 6 A. I have no -- I have no basis to believe it 7 is or that it isn't. 8 Q. So sitting here today, you don't know for 9 sure whether that's Dee Oliver who's texting Jim 10 Wood; is that correct? 11 A. That's correct. 12 Q. If you look at the left column of texts, 13 Dee writes that there are three colors of sample 14 ballots. Do you recognize these sample ballots to 15 be ballots handed out by your campaign? 16 A. I can't discern the details of them, so I 17 can't answer that in the affirmative. I mean, I can't see what the disclosure statement is. Is my 18 19 campaign disclosure statement on the sample 20 ballot? I can't read that from here. That's not 21 discernible. And I don't know who was handing 22 them out, so I can't say, yes, that my campaign

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1 workers were or weren't. But I can't read the 2 disclosure statement on the ballot itself. 3 Q. Did your campaign ever produce sample 4 ballots that looked like this? 5 A. I don't want to say yes or no. I know we 6 had a sample ballot, but I don't remember us 7 having two different colors of the sample ballot. 8 But I -- without seeing these in the full text and 9 seeing the disclosure statement, I can't be 10 responsive to your question in an affirmative way. 11 But if you had the hard copies of them in greater 12 resolution so it's discernible, I would be happy 13 to respond. 14 Q. Have you ever heard anyone claim that a 15 poll worker working for your campaign was handing 16 out different colored handouts depending upon the 17 race of the person they encountered at a polling 18 place? 19 And all of my people that work polls 20 were volunteers. And who might have shown up, I 21 don't have a full who worked where. Yes, I do 22 have poll workers. But I do not recall someone

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1 saying I'm handing out ballots based upon the race 2 of the candidates. No, I did not. 3 Q. So if that happened, you're not aware of 4 it? 5 A. Correct. 6 Q. One more question. You can't read 7 anything on these sample ballots? 8 A. Well, I can't read -- I can read sample 9 I can't read the disclosure statement 10 that would be on a sample ballot. I can -- if I 11 stretch, I can see John Moss. I can see Louis 12 Jones. I can see check marks. But the key part 13 that you want to be able to read, which is this 14 part at the bottom, which I guess is the 15 disclosure statement, that's totally not discernible to me. 16 17 Q. What is Friends of the Elephant? 18 A. That's not part of my campaign. That's a separate organization, I think. That's not my --19 20 my campaign would say John D. Moss Campaign. 21 you'd have to go and look at the Federal Election 22 and look at the filing cost to see who Friends of

1	the Elephant is.
2	Q. You don't know anything about Friends of
3	the Elephant?
4	A. I know who they are. They actually gave
5	me a campaign contribution. That's all I can tell
6	you. I got a campaign contribution from them.
7	It's a matter of public record. But I can't tell
8	you, you know, who all their membership is.
9	That's one of these things I had no involvement
10	in. They were not members of my campaign or
11	anything of that nature. There was no
12	interlocking directorship or corporation, no.
13	Q. Do you know any name of any individual at
14	Friends of the Elephant?
15	A. I do know one name is Gary Byler.
16	Q. How do you spell that?
17	A. B-Y-L-E-R.
18	Q. Who's Gary Byler?
19	A. An attorney.
20	Q. Where does he work?
21	A. I think he works for himself. And he's
22	I think if you go look at the State Board of

1	Elections or whoever keeps all that stuff, you can
2	get all that information about who Friends of the
3	Elephant is because they would be registering. I
4	do not have knowledge here.
5	Q. So if we look at that same text message,
6	you said you could read your name listed there,
7	correct?
8	A. The image? Not the text?
9	Q. The image sent in the text message.
10	A. Yeah. I mean, I really stretch I can't
11	see it on the blue on the pink one. I can't
12	really see that my name there. It's hard to
13	see. I think that's my name. But it's very clear
14	it's my name on the bluer one, but I can't
15	looks like it's Moss on the pink, but I'm having
16	to squint a bit. I think that's my name there. I
17	can't affirmatively say that is.
18	Q. Looking at that image still
19	A. Which one?
20	Q. The same one we were looking at.
21	A. The pink or the blue?
22	Q. Both.

1	A. Okay.
2	Q. Can you tell that one version of the
3	sample ballot lists Aaron Rouse's name and one
4	does not?
5	A. Louis Jones.
6	Yes. I can tell that.
7	Q. Are you aware whether the sample ballot
8	that did not include Aaron Rouse's name was handed
9	only to white voters?
10	A. I have no knowledge of that. No, I
11	cannot.
12	Q. Are you aware whether the sample ballot
13	that was handed out to black voters did include
14	Aaron Rouse's name?
15	A. I have no knowledge of that either.
16	Q. Do you have any idea why there were
17	different sample ballots?
18	A. I can talk to if one of these ballots
19	was authorized and has my authorization I can
20	only speak to the one from my campaign rep. I
21	can't speak to something that somebody else
22	authorized.

1	Q. Put that aside.
2	MR. BOYNTON: The entire exhibit?
3	MS. HARLESS: Yep.
4	Let's mark this as Exhibit 5.
5	(Exhibit 5 was marked and
6	attached to the transcript.)
7	Q. Mr. Moss, you've just been handed what is
8	marked Exhibit 5 by the court reporter. Have you
9	seen this document before?
10	A. Well, yes.
11	Q. What is it?
12	A. An email exchange between Dave Hansen and
13	myself. But can I have the opportunity to refresh
14	my memory?
15	Q. You can.
16	A. Thank you very much.
17	Okay.
18	Q. All right. Do you see in the bottom
19	right well, what is this document?
20	A. This is an email exchange between then
21	City Manager Dave Hansen and myself. He's
22	initially my response to him was asking for

1	additional
2	MR. BOYNTON: She just wanted you to
3	authenticate the document. She didn't ask you for
4	commentary.
5	Q. And it's dated
6	MR. BOYNTON: Answer the question.
7	Q January 20, 2017, correct?
8	A. She said, well, what is it? I was going
9	to tell her what it is.
10	Q. You're very thorough.
11	It is dated January 10th, 2017, correct?
12	A. Correct.
13	Q. Do you see in the bottom right that this
14	document is marked with the letters D-E-F and the
15	numbers 08407?
16	A. Correct.
17	Q. I'll represent to you that this is a
18	document produced by the defendants and your
19	counsel in this case in response to plaintiffs'
20	document production requests. Does that make
21	sense?
22	A. Yes.

1	Q. Let's start with the email at the bottom
2	of the page, which is from you to Dave Hansen,
3	right?
4	A. Correct. Yes.
5	Q. At the time you sent this email in 2017,
6	you were a City Council member?
7	A. Yes.
8	Q. Why were you emailing Mr. Hansen from your
9	personal Gmail address rather than your city email
10	address?
11	A. As I mentioned before, there is no
12	legislative requirement that I have to provide and
13	conduct my business on a vbgov account. And I
14	choose not to. And as you can see, the record was
15	recoverable. And that complies with the FOIA
16	requirements.
17	Q. Uh-huh.
18	So in this email you refer to a briefing?
19	A. Correct.
20	Q. Do you see that?
21	A. Correct.
22	Q. What was the briefing that you were

1	referring to?
2	A. The briefing that we received in the
3	informal session, if I remember correctly, it was
4	about our efforts to go out and secure and do
5	secure a consultant to do a disparity study.
6	Q. The top of Exhibit 5, this is a reply
7	email from Mr. Hansen to you, right?
8	A. It is.
9	Q. Do you need a second to read it?
10	A. I've read it. Thank you.
11	Q. In the third sentence of the reply
12	Mr. Hansen says that "SWaM is easy to obtain,
13	hence why we think the sheltered bidding would be
14	helping in preserving race neutral completion for
15	small business."
16	At the time that email was sent, the city
17	had actually not obtained parity in contracts with
18	small, minority-owned businesses, correct?
19	A. We had not yet achieved the goal we had
20	set, correct.
21	Q. In the email Mr. Hansen continues,
22	"Race-based set-asides are most problematic and

1	that is the target of a disparity study. Very
2	emotional subject."
3	Would you agree that race-based set-asides
4	are problematic?
5	A. Yes, only because of the judicial issues
6	that have dealt with in litigation at various
7	different levels. You have to be careful because
8	there are very certain standards you have to meet.
9	I don't know if you consider that problematic, but
10	you have to be careful to stay within all the
11	judicial precedents that deal with those types of
12	issues, yes.
13	Q. Any other reasons?
14	A. No.
15	Q. Are you opposed to race-based set-asides?
16	A. I'm opposed to anything that isn't in
17	compliance with established judicial and
18	legislative precedent, yes.
19	Q. If a race-based set-aside was in
20	compliance with judicial precedent, would you be
21	opposed to it?
22	A. No.

1	Q. In the email Mr. Hansen then says to you,
2	"Appreciate your patience this evening allowing it
3	to play out." Do you see that?
4	A. Uh-huh.
5	Q. Are you aware of what Mr. Hansen is
6	referring to there?
7	A. I'd only have to infer that the Council
8	stayed longer to talk that day and went over the
9	6:00 parameter, more than likely, and led to
10	Council staying longer, I'm assuming. But I don't
11	know what his state of mind was, no.
12	Q. Did you personally always support a full
13	disparity study?
14	A. I don't know what full means, but I have
15	never opposed a disparity study. I don't know
16	what full means, but I
17	Q. Did you
18	A have not been in favor of doing things
19	that aren't in compliance with legislative and
20	judicial precedent.
21	Q. Okay. Did you ever advocate for doing a
22	disparity study in phases?

1	A. I did.
2	Q. Did you ever advocate for only doing
3	certain phases before continuing on to the rest?
4	A. I did.
5	Q. Can you elaborate on that?
6	A. No.
7	Q. Which phases of a disparity study did you
8	support?
9	A. Well, obviously, if you support phases,
10	you have to support the first phase before you can
11	go to phase two or three. And the importance of
12	that is you get just like in any other
13	professional work you do, you learn something from
14	phase two which you would use you to what? Help
15	you inform your work from phase two. I'm just a
16	logical person. But that's my answer.
17	It's just nothing about the study per se.
18	I would approach that to any kind of study, to do
19	it in phases because you learn something at each
20	phase which informs the next phase.
21	Q. You'd agree that the disparity study found
22	that overall the participation of minority-owned

1	businesses in contracts that the city awarded
2	during the study period was substantially lower
3	than one might expect based on the availability of
4	those businesses for that work, correct?
5	A. That was the finding and conclusion of the
6	report, yes.
7	Q. You can set that exhibit to the side.
8	MS. HARLESS: We'll mark this as Exhibit
9	6.
10	MR. BOYNTON: Are we nearing either an end
11	or a break point in the next few minutes?
12	MS. HARLESS: We can take a break.
13	(A recess was taken.)
14	(Exhibit 6 was marked and
15	attached to the transcript.)
16	Q. This document has just been marked as
17	Exhibit 6 by the court reporter. I'll give you a
18	second to look at it. And, then, can you just let
19	me know yes or no whether you've seen this
20	document before?
21	MR. BOYNTON: It may be helpful to go all
22	the way to the back first and review it in time

1	sequence.
2	A. Okay.
3	Q. Have you seen this document before?
4	A. No.
5	Q. All right. If you look in the lower right
6	corner, there are the letters D-E-F and the
7	numbers 09810 through 09813, correct?
8	A. Correct.
9	Q. I'd like you to turn to page 09813, which
10	is the last page. At the very bottom there is an
11	email on June 16th, 2015 from Dave Hansen to John
12	E. Fowler and Phil A. Davenport, correct?
13	A. Correct.
14	Q. Who is John E. Fowler?
15	A. I'm not certain who that is. I know who
16	Phil Davenport is. But John E. Fowler is not a
17	name that's registering with me. Maybe it should.
18	If I saw a face, it might. But the name is not
19	registering.
20	Q. Who is Phil Davenport?
21	A. He was at the time, I believe, the
22	Director of Public Works.

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1 Q. The subject of this email is AE selection 2 process. Do you see that? 3 A. Uh-huh. 4 Q. Do you know what AE selection process --5 A. Architectural engineering. Architectural 6 engineering. 7 Q. In the text of the message Mr. Hansen 8 wrote, "Need a briefing on the process. Need the 9 dollars spent on who over the last three years. 10 Councilman Moss is questioning our reliance on a 11 select few. We need to prepare to respond in 12 advance of the question being asked. Dave." 13 Are you aware of what Mr. Hansen is 14 referring to when he said Coucilman Moss is 15 questioning our reliance on a select few? 16 A. I have consistently, across a number of 17 issues -- and I don't know what this issue refers 18 But the city seems to have a pattern of 19 always going to a certain number of firms for any 20 work and other types of work. And he probably 21 knows that I'm a very inquisitive person. By my 22 reputation, I always ask a lot of questions. I'm 1

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Transcript of John D. Moss Conducted on September 13, 2019

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wondering what a pattern is, how is it that the same people are always, like, people we go to to get work done at and are we getting the best value. It seems like that would be statistically unusual for the same people to always be getting the work. He knows I ask those types of questions. I don't know his state of mind because he references in advance, knowing I haven't asked 10 anything yet. But he's anticipating I'm going to 11 ask. He's wanting the people to spool up and be 12 able to answer my question when I ask it. That's 13 how I take this to read. And that -- I have no 14 other -- I have no knowledge of this. 15 Q. I'm not asking about any of Mr. Hansen's I'm -- he states, "Coucilman Moss is 16 17 questioning our reliance on a select few." And 18 I'm just wondering if you know specifically what 19 that's referring to? 20 A. At this point, in context, I can't tell 21 you specifically what he's referencing. But, in 22 general, I always ask questions where there

1	appears to be a pattern that would suggest that
2	maybe competition hasn't been in place.
3	Q. Do you know who the select few in this
4	particular email are?
5	A. I have no idea.
6	Q. I'd like you to turn to page 09811 of this
7	document.
8	A. Uh-huh.
9	Q. And towards the top of the page there is
10	an email sent on June 17th, 2015 from John E.
11	Fowler to various, what appear to be, city
12	employees; is that correct?
13	A. This is the one that says to Rob Clark,
14	Rich Nettleton, Bobby J. Wheeler, and Nancy
15	Keenan? Is that the one you're referring to
16	(indicating)?
17	Q. It's from yes.
18	A. Okay. That reflects that I'm talking on
19	Wednesday, June 17th, email on John E. Fowler to
20	Rob Clark referencing AE selection process.
21	Q. Yes. Do you know who Rob Clark is?
22	A. I do not.

1	Q. Do you know who Rich Nettleton is?
2	A. Not by name. I might know by face. No.
3	Q. Do you know Bobby J. Wheeler?
4	A. Nope.
5	Q. Do you know Nancy Keenan?
6	A. No. I do not know any of these people by
7	name. If I saw them in person, I might recognize
8	them from the informal sessions, but not by name.
9	Q. In the body of the email Mr. Fowler
10	writes, "Also, you should watch the video of last
11	night's Council meeting. Mr. Moss was talking
12	about procurement in general; don't know why we're
13	zeroing in on A/E professional services selection
14	- but that's the direction."
15	Do you remember what comments you were
16	making about procurement?
17	A. No, but this does affirm my earlier
18	remarks that I, in general, ask questions. And it
19	appears there is a pattern that reflects a lack of
20	competition. But I do not have a direct
21	recollection of that particular meeting.
22	Q. Does the city video record Council

1	meetings?
2	A. And the informal sessions, correct.
3	Q. And would a video from the June 16th, 2015
4	Council meeting still be available on the city's
5	website?
6	A. I would defer to the city to answer that
7	question.
8	Q. So you don't know?
9	A. I'd like to think it is, but I do not
10	affirmatively know. And this is 2015.
11	Q. Uh-huh.
12	So please turn the page to the page number
13	09810.
14	A. Yes, ma'am.
15	Q. And I want you to look at the bottom.
16	It's an email from Tom Leahy, dated June 18, 2015,
17	to various other individuals, correct?
18	A. Correct.
19	Q. And we already went through, you don't
20	know who Rob Clark is? You do know who Phil
21	Davenport is?
22	A. Uh-huh.

1	Q. You don't know who Rich Nettleton is?
2	A. Correct.
3	Q. You do know who Marilyn Crane is?
4	A. No. But I do know who Tom Leahy is.
5	Q. Who is Tom Leahy?
6	A. He was, I think at this time I don't
7	know this, but he might have been the Director of
8	Public Utilities or he had taken the position of a
9	Deputy City Manager whose portfolio was over
10	Public Works and Public Utilities. I'm just not
11	certain that it happened by that date. It might
12	have been later.
13	Q. In this email Mr. Leahy says that he
14	watched the Council meeting video, we just
15	
10	discussed. And he lists a series of allegations
16	discussed. And he lists a series of allegations from minority-owned businesses he took away from
16	from minority-owned businesses he took away from
16 17	from minority-owned businesses he took away from the meeting. Do you see that, just generally?
16 17 18	from minority-owned businesses he took away from the meeting. Do you see that, just generally? A. I do.
16 17 18 19	from minority-owned businesses he took away from the meeting. Do you see that, just generally? A. I do. Q. One of the allegations he lists was that
16 17 18 19 20	from minority-owned businesses he took away from the meeting. Do you see that, just generally? A. I do. Q. One of the allegations he lists was that the way "The way we write our RFPs includes a

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1 Did you agree with that allegation? 2 A. I can't recall the context at the time. Ι 3 wouldn't say -- if I was looking -- bias tends to 4 preclude -- I would tend to say there is a bias --5 preclude is a word I probably would not use, but 6 certainly a bias that maybe discourages or works 7 against. But preclude means that they can't in 8 any way be successful. I don't know that I would 9 use the word preclude. 10 Q. So would you agree that the way the city 11 writes their RFPs included a bias that tends to 12 discourage minority firms from qualifying? 13 A. I would think that's probably closer to 14 where I would be, yes. 15 Q. Another allegation listed was that "The same firms always get the work." 16 17 We already discussed this somewhat. But 18 did you agree with that allegation? 19 A. That certainly is the appearance, yes. 20 The reason why is unknown, but yes. 21 Q. The next -- there is another item that 22 says minority -- "Minority firms are told they are

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1 not qualified so they simply give up." 2 A. I can't agree or disagree with that 3 I have no basis to know the validity statement. 4 of that. 5 Q. Okay. So going back, you mentioned that 6 you would agree with the allegation that the way 7 the city wrote their RFPs includes a bias that 8 discourages minority firms from qualifying. Why 9 do you think that's the case? 10 A. Well, not -- working off the appearance 11 because, obviously, I'm not directly engaged in 12 receiving, reviewing, or the factors for RFPs, but 13 when you look at the fact that it does -- you have

something about the process that is discouraging

to make an inference -- an inference that there is

16 people, which is why I didn't want to use preclude

17 because preclude means if you participate and do

18 all this stuff you might be getting a successful

19 outcome.

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But clearly something is indicated in the larger statistics that there is something about the process because the same results always seem

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1 to turn up that's discouraging people. And that's why I came to that conclusion. It's an inference 2 3 versus an empirically validated conclusion. 4 Q. All right. You can set that one to the 5 side. 6 Prior to his resignation on August 23rd, 7 2019, did you think City Manager Dave Hansen was 8 performing satisfactorily? 9 A. I'm asserting legislative privilege. 10 MR. BOYNTON: Well, here is the thing we 11 have here. 12 A. Educate me. 13 MR. BOYNTON: You can answer your personal 14 opinions. It's the conversations between you and 15 other legislative actors; i.e., Council members, 16 that is the privilege. So you are fair to say 17 your opinions. 18 A. No. 19 Q. Okay. Can we -- just to get it clear --20 MR. BOYNTON: Sure. 21 Q. Prior to his resignation on August 23rd, 22 2019, did you think City Manager Dave Hansen was

1	performing satisfactorily?
2	A. No.
3	Q. Why?
4	MR. BOYNTON: You can answer the question
5	for your own personal opinions.
6	A. My own personal opinion.
7	Two examples. And they were documented in
8	the paper. I sent a privileged communication
9	regarding a development that was taking place in
10	the city, the pier project specifically, that
11	involved Bruce Thompson. Counsel had yet to hold
12	an executive session on this particular pier
13	proposal. I had sent a privileged, and
14	FOIA-exempt communication I might add, to the City
15	Manager on my thoughts about that particular
16	project. And he took it upon himself to forward
17	that communication, a privileged communication, to
18	Bruce Thompson.
19	Needless to say, that's an extreme
20	violation of trust. And I don't care what your
21	performance is in other jobs, if you can't trust
22	someone then they need to be fired. So that's one

1	event. That was in December. And I forget the
2	year on that. '17. It wouldn't have been '18.
3	Probably was '17 when it happened. Could have
4	been '18. That whole it was well-reported in
5	the paper.
6	Q. We'll get into that.
7	What is the second one?
8	A. The second one is the City Manager was on
9	North Great Neck Road.
10	Q. Slow down just a little bit.
11	A. The City Manager was on North Great Neck
12	Road. There was an off-duty police officer in
13	uniform performing a traffic control function
14	under, I'll call it, a personal contract for a
15	I don't know if it's landscape, but some kind of
16	construction activity that required him to shut
17	off a lane of highway on North Great Neck Road.
18	The City Manager approached the situation.
19	This is my personal opinion again. He found that
20	whatever the activity that the traffic
21	direction that the police officer was providing
22	was not consistent with what he thought should be

1	happening. So he got out of his vehicle and
2	instructed the police officer to change his
3	behavior and how he was performing his function at
4	that location.
5	The exact nature of all the
6	instructions but I guess there was some
7	pushback from the officer for which the then City
8	Manager Hansen said, Hey, don't you know who I am?
9	That always gets people's attention. But clearly
10	under the city's Charter and authority he is
11	superior to the Police Chief, and he is in a
12	position of power to give directions to police
13	officers whether they're on duty or not when in
14	uniform. Anyway, that was less than a pleasant
15	experience. Put it that way.
16	The police officer in question, I don't
17	know if he filed a formal grievance with the City
18	Council, because that's who he works with, but,
19	nonetheless, he brought that to Council's
20	attention about how he thought he had been, my
21	words, disrespected or dealt with inappropriately
22	and not in a professional manner. So that got

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1 quite a bit of attention in the paper. 2 Well, in the course of all of this a lot 3 of private memos were exchanged, as you can 4 imagine. And one of these got out into the public 5 domain. And when the Manager had a private 6 meeting with this officer, he accused me of 7 providing that information and accused me of doing 8 it for political purposes. 9 As it turned out, that document was 10 actually released by his own PAO officer through 11 the television station and I had no involvement 12 with it. At first, he denied that he threw me 13 under the bus. But the police officer, 14 fortunately, had recorded the conversation, so, in 15 fact, it was documented what he said. And he had lied about what he said. So that is infraction 16 17 number two. 18 And so those are my two bases for saying 19 under no condition was his performance acceptable 20 to me because, one, he has lied, and, secondly, he 21 isn't trustworthy. Everything else is immaterial. 22 So on that basis his performance was

1	unsatisfactory.
2	Q. What was the name of the police officer?
3	A. I can't recall that, but it's a matter of
4	public record.
5	Q. But it's a matter of public record
6	A. It was in the newspaper.
7	Q. And do you remember what year that was?
8	A. Might have been '17.
9	Q. Has Mr. Hansen ever made racially
10	insensitive comments during his time as City
11	Manager?
12	MR. BOYNTON: Are you asking him for his
13	observation?
14	Q. In your opinion.
15	A. Well, that's not something that's an
16	opinion either. Factually have I
17	Q. Have you
18	A directly heard him? Is that what
19	you're asking? I'm not even sure I know what
20	MR. BOYNTON: That's why I was asking.
21	Q. Let's start with that one. Have you ever
22	directly heard Mr. Hansen make racially

1	insensitive comments?
2	A. No.
3	Q. Are you aware of any racially insensitive
4	comments that Mr. Hansen has made?
5	A. Statements that can be inferred to be so,
6	yes. Yes.
7	Q. What are those statements?
8	A. One was with regards to the recent event
9	at Floatopia. That's the best way to express it,
10	I think. Some people could take that and did take
11	that expression, you know, paint your face
12	comment that's one. I mean, that certainly was
13	taken by many people as being an insensitive
14	choice of words. And
15	Q. Why do you think that was taken as an
16	insensitive choice of words?
17	A. Well
18	MR. BOYNTON: I'll object to the extent
19	it's calling for any kind of speculation.
20	A. I don't know why people I can
21	imagine speaking for myself
22	Q. That's all I'm asking. That's all I'm

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1 asking. 2 A. Just want to make sure. 3 In today's environment, and certainly 4 after Governor Northam's whole thing, you can 5 imagine that adds to the context of that 6 statement. You know, when people think you're 7 referring to what he claims was not his intent, 8 that, hey, if you are one race but you had -- and 9 your face was white, that you wouldn't be being 10 asked. And that's how people kind of read that he 11 was making that inference from his statement. 12 Poor choice of words. Having reported it in the 13 press, I could see how some people could be 14 offended. And I could see other people would say, 15 eh, what's the big deal? But clearly when you're a public official, you have to watch all your 16 17 words. 18

Q. Were you about to talk about another one?

A. It wasn't him specifically, but it was -because it was Ron Williams. And it's how the Manager responded to it, I think, is probably more indicative than if you're talking about -- that

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1	was the five percenter comment. That was not by
2	him, but he certainly didn't come out and
3	aggressively disown that and take appropriate
4	action. So people think you're condoning that.
5	That's a different issue.
6	But that's kind of that was all based
7	on the parade. I was at that parade. I was
8	really surprised by that. But those are the two.
9	But I've never directly observed him making any
10	comments.
11	Q. So besides the two examples you gave me of
12	Mr. Hansen sharing the privileged communication
13	that you sent to him about the pier project and
14	the incident involving the police officer on North
15	Great Neck Road, in his over three years as City
16	Manager was there anything Mr. Hansen did that you
17	thought was grounds for termination?
18	A. Recommended consistently higher tax rates
19	and fee increases.
20	Q. In the past you had called openly
21	called for Mr. Hansen to be fired, correct?
22	A. Correct.

1	MS. HARLESS: Let's mark this as Exhibit
2	7.
3	(Exhibit 7 was marked and
4	attached to the transcript.)
5	Q. Mr. Moss, you've just been handed what was
6	marked Exhibit 7 by the court reporter. Have you
7	seen this document before? I'll give you a
8	second. I'm specifically going to be asking you
9	to look at page 0776, and that's it, of this
10	document.
11	MR. BOYNTON: Okay.
12	Q. Just for the record, if you look at the
13	bottom right corner, there is the DEF and the
14	numbers 0776, correct?
15	A. Correct. Yes.
16	Q. I'll represent to you this was a document
17	produced by your Council in response to
18	plaintiffs' document production requests in this
19	case.
20	If you look at the top of this page, there
21	is an article titled that says Two Virginia
22	Beach Council members call for City Manager to be

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1 fired. Do you see that? 2 A. I do. Yes. 3 Q. And it's dated June 11th, 2018? 4 A. Yes. 5 Q. Were you one of the two City Council 6 members that called for City Manager Dave Hansen 7 to be fired? 8 A. Yes. 9 O. Why did you call for Mr. Hansen's 10 termination at this time? 11 A. This is repeating what I mentioned 12 earlier. Because he did a breach of privileged 13 communication and provided an email that I sent to 14 him directly to the individual in the private 15 sector over which an executive session was being held about the project, that person being Bruce 16 17 Thompson. 18 Q. Why was the communication privileged? 19 A. Because it was directly dealing with a 20 negotiation deal that we were having about a pier 21 development project. So we had not yet set the 22 terms. And so now he's sharing my thoughts and

1	views about an issue that Council had not yet
2	decided, which was going to be in the executive
3	session that following Tuesday, and now he's
4	giving that information and insight to the person
5	about which the executive session was about their
6	deal proposal.
7	Q. And you thought that was inappropriate,
8	correct?
9	A. Yes.
10	Q. Did Mr. Hansen have a close relationship
11	with Bruce Thompson?
12	A. It would appear so.
13	Q. As far as you're aware, did Mr. Hansen
14	ever give a heads up like this to any other
15	developer?
16	A. I have no proof of it, but I suspect it.
17	Q. You suspect that he gave a heads up to
18	other developers?
19	A. It's just a suspicion.
20	Q. Who?
21	A. I have no idea, but yeah. That's just
22	a personal opinion.

1	Q. Would you say you have a good relationship
2	with Mr. Thompson?
3	A. No, I do not. I have no relationship with
4	Mr. Thompson.
5	Q. Is that because well, why is that?
6	A. Because all he wants to do is to make
7	private expense with public taxpayers' money.
8	Q. As far as you're aware, had Mr. Hansen
9	ever given a heads up, like the heads up he gave
10	to Bruce Thompson, to Bruce Smith?
11	A. I have no knowledge of that.
12	Q. Okay. So we're looking at the first
13	paragraph here. And further down in this
14	paragraph, close to the bottom, there is a quote
15	from you, and you're referring to Mr. Hansen. And
16	you said, "I think the public has to ask itself
17	given the track record do we have a managerial
18	leadership that we can trust?" You then
19	continued, "My answer is we do not."
20	What is the track record you're referring
21	to regarding Mr. Hansen?
22	
21	

1	preceded this. It would just go with what he
2	his support for things like light rail, when the
3	public clearly, even after we the public voted
4	it down, he was still an advocate for it, in
5	effect. So there is just a number of issues on
6	which he, rather than being, in my view, a City
7	Manager being neutral as to policy, was an
8	advocate for the very special interest that I
9	often talk about.
10	Q. Which special interest was he an advocate
11	for?
12	A. Well, certainly Bruce Thompson.
13	Q. Any others?
14	A. Well, there are other people involved with
15	the pier project, but I can't recall their names.
16	But, generally speaking, he was CityView Two
17	was another one he was an advocate for. These are
18	all taxpayer subsidies for developers. But not
19	all developers get those taxpayer subsidies. So
20	he certainly had a short list, in my opinion.
21	Q. Are you sorry. Are you I didn't
22	mean to interrupt. I thought you were done. Are

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1 you done? 2 A. I am done. 3 Q. What do you mean by certainly not all 4 people get the taxpayer money? 5 A. I'll give you a good example. I like 6 examples. We had Cecil Cutchins, who's Olympia 7 Development Corporation, wanted to acquire a piece 8 of city property on Bonney Road. He only wanted 9 to build two office buildings on it. He was not 10 looking for any city indirect or direct tax 11 expenditures. The Manager and staff kept pushing on him that he had to include retail and office 12 13 and all sorts of other development. And he said, 14 hey, that won't sell in the marketplace. He said, 15 yes, but we'll make it so it can because we'll 16 give you tax rebates on real estate and we'll do 17 this, this, and this. 18 The guy was so incensed he actually 19 reached out to Council members about it, saying 20 why are you forcing development on me that I'm 21 willing to build here at no taxpayer anything but 22 there is no market for this. And so in the end

1	the Council, after this got fairly public, said,
2	no, we're going to approve what it is. But
3	it's that's just just an example of an
4	approach to business that costs the taxpayers
5	money and there is no reasonable, rational
6	explanation for it.
7	But, anyway but he seems to have his
8	own agenda.
9	Q. Dave Hansen?
10	A. Well, when he was in the job as City
11	Manager, yes, appeared to have his own vision of
12	what he thought the city should look like. And he
13	was willing to use taxpayers' money to get what he
14	wanted even when it didn't make sense. So he has
15	a track record of having his own view of what he
16	thinks the city should be, and I think often
17	usurping Council's prerogatives. That's my
18	personal view. Maybe that's why he's not the City
19	Manager.
20	Q. How you spell Cecil Cutchins?
21	A. C-E-C-I-L, Cecil. Cutchins is
22	C-U-T-C-H-I-N-S. And he's the CEO of Olympia

1	Development Corporation. And all that was
2	discussed in informal and open session, so there
3	is a clear record of all of that.
4	Q. All right. You can set that to the side.
5	MS. HARLESS: We'll mark this as Exhibit
6	8.
7	(Exhibit 8 was marked and
8	attached to the transcript.)
9	Q. I'll give you a second to look at that
10	before I ask you about it.
11	A. Okay.
12	Q. Have you seen Exhibit 8 before?
13	A. I remember when this came through from
14	Henry. You know, I don't I can't I do
15	remember when this came through. Like I said,
16	this would go to all City Council, so it would
17	have been forwarded to my personal account. I do
18	recall I remember the cumulative voting.
19	That's what stuck in my memory because that was
20	most people don't even know about cumulative
21	voting.
22	Q. If you look at the bottom right corner of

1	this document, you'll see the letters DEF and the
2	number 09444 to 09445, correct?
3	A. Yes.
4	Q. I'd like you to look at the middle of the
5	first page, so 094444. This is an email from
6	Henry Ryto on October 16th, 2018 to the City
7	Council, correct?
8	A. Correct. Yes.
9	Q. And you already mentioned you got this
10	email as a City Council member?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. Who is Henry Ryto?
13	A. He's a resident of Virginia Beach. That's
14	what I know Henry as. He used to come often or
15	earlier times down to City Council and sometimes
16	spoke. But he comes to town halls occasionally.
17	I think that one time he was actually employed by
18	HRT. That's how I know Henry.
19	Q. What's HRT?
20	A. Hampton Roads Transit.
21	Q. Have you met him in person?
22	A. Yes. Not outside the Council chambers or

1	a public event. But I have met him, yes.
2	Q. What is Mr. Ryto's race?
3	A. He's Caucasian.
4	Q. In the email Mr. Ryto proposes several
5	alternative methods for electing members to the
6	City Council, correct?
7	A. Correct. Yes.
8	Q. Did you support any of these proposals?
9	A. No. There is a record we previously
10	discussed, I have supported the hybrid system for
11	the seven districts, going to single-member
12	districts with four at-large, including the Mayor,
13	so no.
14	Q. Were you interested in any of these
15	proposals?
16	A. No.
17	Q. You mentioned earlier that cumulative
18	voting caught your eye. Was there anything
19	particular about the cumulative voting that caught
20	your eye?
21	A. Only that rarely do people have a
22	knowledge of it that aren't in the ins and outs of

1	politics of voting. Usually it's not something
2	you hear people talk about much, so it caught my
3	eye as, oh, an average citizen that knows about
4	cumulative voting. That was kind of unique.
5	That's why. Not because anything about the
6	topics, but just that the citizen was aware of
7	cumulative voting.
8	Q. Do you know what ranked choice voting is?
9	A. Say again.
10	Q. Do you know what ranked choice voting is?
11	A. I've heard of it. I'm not an expert on
12	it. I wouldn't want to opine on it. But I am
13	familiar with the basic principles of it.
14	Q. Besides this email and the communications
15	you mentioned earlier, have you ever communicated
16	in any way with Mr. Ryto regarding alternative
17	election systems for the City Council in Virginia
18	Beach?
19	A. I might have. And it would show up in my
20	councilmail my archive.gov if I did.
21	Q. Do you know why Mr. Ryto is proposing
22	alternative methods of elections to the City

1	Council?
2	A. I have no idea, other than he has a
3	sincere interest in, you know, expressing his
4	views. But no, I do not.
5	Q. Did you discuss this email from Mr. Ryto
6	with anyone else on the City Council?
7	A. No. I'm certain of that.
8	MS. HARLESS: All right. Could we just
9	take a short break?
10	MR. BOYNTON: Uh-huh.
11	(A recess was taken.)
12	MS. HARLESS: No further questions from
13	me.
14	MR. BOYNTON: Thank you. I have no
15	questions for you, sir.
16	You have a right to read and sign the
17	deposition transcript once it's transcribed to
18	make sure it's been transcribed accurately. We've
19	been advising our clients to read.
20	THE DEPONENT: I do.
21	MR. BOYNTON: If you'd advise
22	THE DEPONENT: Yes. I always want to have

```
1
    a chance to read.
2
3
             (Signature having not been waived, the
    deposition of JOHN D. MOSS was concluded at 12:50
4
5
    p.m.)
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1	ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEPONENT
2	I, JOHN D. MOSS, do hereby acknowledge
3	that I have read and examined the foregoing
4	testimony, and the same is a true, correct, and
5	complete transcription of the testimony given by
6	me and any corrections appear on the attached
7	Errata Sheet signed by me.
3	
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10	
11	(DATE) (SIGNATURE)
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1	CERTIFICATE OF SHORTHAND REPORTER-NOTARY PUBLIC
2	I, Penny C. Wile, RPR, RMR, CRR, the
3	officer before whom the foregoing deposition was
4	taken, do hereby certify that the foregoing
5	transcript is a true and correct record of the
6	testimony given; that said testimony was taken by
7	me stenographically and thereafter reduced to
8	typewriting under my direction; that reading and
9	signing was requested; and that I am neither
10	counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of
11	the parties to this case and have no interest,
12	financial or otherwise, in its outcome.
13	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my
14	hand and affixed my notarial seal this 23rd day of
15	September, 2019.
16	My commission expires: January 31, 2021.
17	
18	PENNY C. WILE
19	Notary Public Commonwealth of Virginia Registration No. 212528
20	My Commission Expires Jan 31, 2021
21	NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR
22	THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

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